

THE
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER
AND
GENERAL REVIEW.

THIRD SERIES—No. XIII.

SEPTEMBER, 1837.

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1837.

EDITORS OF THE EXAMINER.

REV. F. W. P. GREENWOOD, BOSTON.

REV. JAMES WALKER, D. D., CHARLESTOWN.

Among the principal Contributors, are

REV. N. WORCESTER, D. D., <i>Brighton.</i>	REV. E. B. HALL, <i>Providence, R. I.</i>
REV. W. E. CHANNING, D. D., <i>Boston.</i>	REV. O. A. BROWNSON, <i>Boston.</i>
REV. F. PARKMAN, D. D., <i>Boston.</i>	REV. CALEB STETSON, <i>Medford.</i>
REV. N. L. FROTHINGHAM, D. D., <i>Bost.</i>	REV. WILLIAM P. LUNT, <i>Quincy.</i>
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NOTICE.

With the present Number it will be perceived that the Christian Examiner passes into the hands of new publishers. In entering upon the charge of this journal, the publishers would respectfully solicit attention to its present condition and wants.

The whole number of subscribers to the Christian Examiner falls short of one thousand. This number, it must be evident to those who have any knowledge of the necessary expenses of a periodical work, for every page of the contributions to which the highest price is paid, is barely sufficient to afford it a meagre support. In view of this fact,—in view, also, of the abundant ability of the denomination, under whose auspices it is issued, to give to their principal journal an ample support,—in view, particularly, of the character which it has hitherto sustained, of its rank among the periodical publications of the day, and, especially, of the important purposes which it has served, and which it is hoped it may still continue to serve, in the cause of religious truth and religious liberty,—the publishers entertain a confidence that an appeal for a more extended patronage of this work will be met with favor.

With a view particularly to the accomplishment of this object, the publishers give notice that they have made arrangements with the REV. ALLEN PUTNAM, by which he becomes the purchaser of the whole of an *increased* edition of the several Numbers of this journal as they shall be successively issued. In this way it is hoped to secure for the Examiner an adequate support. The success of this arrangement, however, it must be obvious, depends entirely upon the zeal with which it is seconded by the friends of the work. Persons wishing to become subscribers are respectfully requested to send in their names to Mr. Putnam.

Agents, and others who have been in the habit of receiving their copies of this work from the publisher in Boston, are notified that all communications pertaining to subscriptions are to be addressed "To the REV. ALLEN PUTNAM, *Boston*, care of JAMES MUNROE & Co." Other communications are to be directed to "The Editors of the CHRISTIAN EXAMINER," care of the same.

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THE
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.

N^o. LXXXII.

THIRD SERIES — N^o. XIII.

SEPTEMBER, 1837.

ART. I. — REACTION IN FAVOR OF THE ROMAN CATHOLICS.

A DISCOURSE DELIVERED BEFORE THE UNIVERSITY IN
CAMBRIDGE, AT THE DUDLEIAN LECTURE, MAY 10,
1837. BY JAMES WALKER.

THE subject of this lecture is thus stated by its founder, Judge Dudley: "For the detecting and convicting and exposing the idolatry of the Romish Church, their tyranny, usurpations, damnable heresies, fatal errors, abominable superstitions, and other crying wickednesses in their high places; and, finally, that the church of Rome is that mystical Babylon, that Man of Sin, that apostate church spoken of in the New Testament." These are hard names to call our fellow-creatures by, and not the most likely, one would suppose, to win them over to our way of thinking. And besides, it would not be easy, before an audience like this, to convict the church of Rome of "idolatry," or of "damnable heresies," or "fatal errors," or of being the "mystical Babylon," and "Man of Sin," mentioned by the sacred writers. The most that I should think of undertaking, under any circumstances, would be to expose its "tyranny, usurpations," and "abominable superstitions;" and in doing this, I should feel that candor, — nay, that common justice required me to concede that Protestants had not seen fit to allow the mother church to monopolize these vices.

VOL. XXIII. — 3D S. VOL. V. NO. I.

1

But with such a subject, and within the limits of a single discourse, what can be done? I have thought it would be best to turn aside, as far as may be, from the old controversy, and to look with a single eye at the reaction which is supposed by some to be now going on in favor of the Roman Catholics, and which is creating, in many parts of this country, so much real or affected alarm. What foundation is there for this alarm? And how is the alleged danger, so far as it really exists, to be met?

There is one preliminary observation, however, which I would first press on your notice. The history of the panics on this subject are such as to put every thoughtful and just man on his guard against them. It is a singular fact, that from the very beginning the controversy between the Catholics and Protestants has been conducted, in almost every instance, on political grounds. Taking up the history of Protestantism from the League of Smalkalde, in 1531, we cannot shut our eyes on the fact that the German princes, who were parties to that treaty, were much more influenced in their subsequent movements by political, than by theological or religious considerations. And the same remark holds true with still less qualification in regard to the Huguenot wars in France, and the war between the Netherlanders and Philip of Spain. And if we extend our view across the British Channel, and study the course of events in England, under Henry the Eighth, who does not see that, so far as human agency was concerned, we appear to owe it mainly to the brutal lusts of that monarch, and the rapacity of his courtiers, that the Anglican church, like the Gallican, does not recognise to this hour the supremacy of the pope. I do not mean to imply, that there were not individuals on both sides, who entered fully and sincerely into the merits of the question considered as a radical schism in the church, and who would have had every thing turn on the religious aspects of the struggle. But this spirit can hardly be said to have predominated in either party; much less among the powerful chiefs, many of whom, though they found themselves, they hardly knew how, fighting under hostile banners bearing religious names, fought nevertheless for personal or family aggrandizement, for party ends, for victory, for the spoils, or for life.

One circumstance, however, characterizing the *early* struggles between the Catholics and the Protestants, deserves par-

ticular notice in this place. They were *desperate* struggles. With each party it was often a question of life or death. And hence perhaps the best justification of the early panics, and the only palliation of the early atrocities, to which the controversy led ; — as in the case of the St. Bartholomew massacre, and the persecutions of Queen Mary, on the Catholic side, and the barbarous and sanguinary proceedings under Elizabeth, on the Protestant side. It was a matter of politics even then ; but it was also, or at least it was deemed a matter of political necessity : at any rate, it was matter of honest and well grounded apprehensions on the part of the leading agitators, as well as of the rest. This is more than can be said generally of the conduct of either party in later times. Take, for example, on one side, the conduct of Louis the Fourteenth in revoking the edict of Nantes in 1685, under no pressure of immediate danger ; and, on the other, the conduct of the English Protestants, as far back as the times of Charles the First, in charging upon the Catholics, with a view to inflame the public mind, pretended and absurd plots, one of which was to issue in the blowing up of the river Thames. Who does not now perceive, that these were political manœuvres, based, for the most part, on fabrications or exaggerations got up and industriously propagated to answer the party purposes of the day by acting on the ignorance and prejudices of the people ; and this, too, through the agency or connivance of men who knew better, and who could not, like their fathers, avail themselves, to any considerable extent, even of the tyrant's plea of political necessity.

History teaches few lessons more instructive or more impressive than that which is to be gathered from the conduct of the English nation, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, under the Anti-Catholic panic excited by what are now universally understood to be the perjuries of the infamous Oates and his associates, instigated, as many suppose, or at least abetted, by Shaftesbury and other disappointed politicians, who sought to turn the whole movement to their own account. I cannot dwell on the number or the character of the victims in this dreadful scene of mingled delusion and wickedness. Suffice it to say, in the words of Mr. Fox ; “ Prosecutors, whether attorneys-general and solicitors-general, or managers of impeachment, acted with the fury, which, in such circumstances, might be expected. Juries partook naturally of the

national ferment; and judges, whose duty it was to guard them against such impressions, were scandalously active in confirming them in their prejudices and inflaming their passions." North, in his *Examen*, is still more explicit: "Lord Chief Justice Scroggs took in with the tide, and ranted for the plot, hewing down popery as Scanderbeg hewed down the Turks. The attorney-general used to say in the trials for murder, 'If the man be a papist, then he is guilty, because it is the interest of papists to murder us all.'" And, I may add, the king, who is supposed to have disbelieved the whole of the pretended plot from the beginning, and whose personal predilections for the Catholic religion are now so well understood, never once dared to interpose his glorious prerogative of mercy. Sir Walter Scott, in commenting on this disgraceful incident in English history, observes, that from the time of the execution of Lord Stafford, who was among the last that were sacrificed, "the popish plot, — like a serpent which has wasted its poison, — though its wreathes entangled many, and its terrors held their sway over more, did little effectual mischief." Even he allows, however, that, "when long lifeless and extinguished, the chimera, far in the succeeding reigns, continued, like the dragon slain by the Red-Cross knight, to be the object of popular fear, and the theme of credulous terrorists.

'Some feared and fled; some feared and well it fained. —

One that would wiser seem than all the rest,
Warned him not touch: for yet, perhaps, remained
Some ling'ring life within his hollow breast,
Or in his womb might lurk some hidden nest
Of many dragonettes, his fruitful seed;
Another said, that in his eyes did rest
Yet sparkling fire, and bade thereof take heed;
Another said, he saw him move his eyes indeed.' " *

One word more in this connexion. The part, which the English dissenters played in the Anti-Catholic mania at this time, is full of warning to the smaller and weaker Protestant denominations of all times. To such a degree did they allow their dread and jealousy of a popish succession to be

* See Butler's *Historical Memoirs of English, Irish, and Scottish Catholics*. Vol. III. pp. 61, 113.

wrought upon, soon after the Restoration, that they were easily persuaded not to obstruct, and many of them went so far as strenuously to advocate the passage of the Test Act, though the effect of the bill, on the face of it, was to exclude *them*, if strict non-conformists, as well as the Catholics, from all offices of profit and trust, and throw the whole power of the country into the hands of the Establishment. It is true, while the affair was pending, they were amused and cajoled by assurances that the blow was aimed at the common enemy, and not at them; and delusive hopes were held out, that parliament would take measures immediately for the "ease," as it was called, of such among them as had tender consciences in regard to occasional conformity. "Thus," says Neal, "the Protestant non-conformists, out of their abundant zeal for the Protestant religion, shackled themselves, and were left upon a level with popish recusants." And what became of the pledges of their brethren of the church party? The Dissenters had to wait more than half a century even for the Indemnity Act, and that brought deliverance in the shape of an insult; for the act did not profess to operate as a justification, or even as a toleration of dissent in office-holders, but only as an annual pardon. It is now less than ten years, since, by the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, the yoke itself was thrown off. Do you say, The same artifice could not succeed again? I only ask you to pause, and look round, even in these boasted days of free schools, newspapers, lyceums, and I know not what, and see how common it is for the demagogue to begin by sowing the seeds of distrust in the community, and then, after having led the unthinking to suspect that they are in danger of being imposed upon by others, to make use of these very suspicions as the means of imposing on them himself.

My inference from all this is not, that we can have nothing to fear from the church of Rome, or that we ought not to be vigilant and active to withstand its encroachments. But I suppose that there are some among us who would not care to be made the dupes of the cry of "No Popery," now, as we see that the English Dissenters were, a hundred and fifty years ago. And, therefore, it is that I would repeat what I have said before: — The history of the *panics* on this subject is such as to put every thoughtful and just man on his guard against their repetition.

And now we are prepared to take up the question, What evidence is there to prove that a formidable reaction has been going on for some years in favor of the Roman Catholics throughout the world, and particularly in this country? I can give, of course, but a summary of this evidence; but I will try to give that in such a form as not to weaken either its real or apparent force.

It seems then, in the first place, to be agreed on all hands, that since the coming in of the present century there has been a general waking up of the Catholic mind. Catholics are as ready as any to confess that, forty years ago, their scholars and divines had fallen into a state of the most humiliating intellectual inferiority, and that a short-sighted policy, on the part of many of the Catholic powers, and of the church itself, tended to keep them in that state, from a jealousy of science considered as accessory to the innovating and disorganizing spirit of the age. But they now see their error; and so diligent have they been in repairing its effects, that they can already adduce some of the most distinguished names among living or recent authors, in every department of letters and the arts.* New life has also been breathed into the Catholic schools and universities, where, as it is now said, if they have not actually come up with the Protestants, they are gaining on them every day, in the fame of their professors, and in mental activity, and in some respects even in mental freedom. Add to this, that, during the period now under consideration, many Protestants, eminent for their genius, their virtues, or their standing in society, have gone over to the ancient faith.† All these men, for aught I know, were honest and sincere in their conversion. But let it be that they acted from policy, this would augur to my mind, at least in a worldly point of view, only so much the worse for

* It will be sufficient to refer to such as these:—Görres, Hammer, Novalis, Hug, Scholz, de La Mennais, de Maistre, Chateaubriand, Pellico, and Lingard.

† The signal for this defection was given, about the commencement of the present century, by Count Stolberg, whose example was followed soon after by Frederick von Schlegel, and among others since, by Adam Müller, by the Swiss Haller, and by Schelling. Meanwhile, as an offset to the array of distinguished converts made to Catholicism, I recollect but one of any note made from it, Blanco White.

the prospects of the cause they have abandoned. Men do not worship the setting sun, except from conviction.

Again ; it is well understood that the Catholics have caught not only the general excitement of mind which prevails among other denominations, but the proselyting spirit which is so apt to go along with it.* It is curious to observe how far this

* As in the Catholic controversy in this country, frequent mention is made of the Leopold Foundation, I subjoin a brief account of the rise, objects, and extent of that charity. Mr. Frederick Rese, Vicar-General of the Bishopric of Cincinnati, visited Vienna in 1829, with a view to obtain pecuniary aid in support of the missions and other religious establishments among the Indians, Catholic emigrants, and others in that extensive diocese. At his instance a voluntary association was formed, under the name given above, "for aiding Catholic missions in America by contributions in the Austrian empire ;" and the following are the three first "Rules of the Institution."

"1. The *objects* of the institution under the name of the *Leopold Foundation* are, a.) To promote the greater activity of Catholic missions in America ; b.) To edify Christians by enlisting them in the work of propagating the Church of Jesus Christ in the remote parts of the earth ; c.) To preserve in lasting remembrance, her deceased Majesty Leopoldina, Empress of Brazil, born Archduchess of Austria.

"2. The *means* selected to attain these ends are *Prayer* and *Alms*.

"3. Every member of this religious institution engages daily to offer one *Pater* and *Ave*, with the addition: '*St. Leopold ! pray for us,*' and every week to contribute a *crucifix* ; and thus by this small sacrifice of prayer and alms, to concur in the great work of promoting the true Faith. As, however, every one is free to enrol himself in this society, he may also leave at his pleasure."

After some details touching the manner in which this charity is to be collected and distributed, "under the protection of his most sacred Majesty, and in connexion with Frederick Rese, now Vicar-General of the Cincinnati bishopric in North America," come the three last Rules, which sound oddly enough in Protestant ears.

"10. The Leopold Foundation being a private religious institution, the central direction [at Vienna] will solemnly celebrate the feast of the immaculate conception of the Blessed Virgin, the universal patroness of all religious assemblies, as the feast of the Foundation ; but will also celebrate the feast of St. Leopold Marchion, the given name of the Empress Leopoldina and special patroness of this institution ; and also every year on the 11th of December, (the anniversary day of the death of Leopoldina, Empress of Brazil,) it will see that the solemn mass for the dead be said for the repose of her soul and all the souls of the deceased

spirit, during the last century, gradually died out of a church, whose Propaganda in Rome was once so active, and whose

patrons and benefactors of the institution called by her name, all the members being invited to unite their pious prayers with the prayers of the Direction.

"11. His Holiness, Pope Leo XII., eleven days before his most pious death, having declared his approbation of the institution, (which must serve as a great incitement to all good Christians,) did grant to its members large indulgences, in an express letter, the publication of which, being graciously permitted by his Majesty on the fourteenth of April, was made by the most reverend ordinariates, to wit: 'Full indulgence to each member on the day he joins the society, also on the 8th of December, also on the day of the feast of St. Leopold, and once a month, if through the former month he shall have daily said a *Pater* and *Ave*, and the words, *Sancte Leopolde! ora pro nobis*, and on condition that after sincere confession he partake of the sacrament of the Holy Eucharist, and pray to God in some public church for the unity of Christian princes, the extirpation of heresies, and the increase of Holy Mother Church.

"12. The most serene and eminent Arch Duke Cardinal Rudolphus, Archbishop of Olmutz, has kindly taken the supreme direction of the Leopold Foundation, and appointed the most high and reverend Lord Prince, Archbishop of Vienna, his *locum tenens*. Vienna, 12 May, 1829."

Bishop Fenwick, of Cincinnati, in a letter of acknowledgments to the Emperor for his kind offices in promoting this charity, says: "We venture here to flatter ourselves that the worthy inheritor of the virtues of St. Leopold, and the great Empress Maria Theresa, will continue to support us in our weak endeavors to extend the Catholic Religion in this vast country, [meaning his own See, which included, at that time, Michigan and the North West Territory,] destitute of all spiritual and temporal resources, especially among the Indian tribes, who form an important part of our diocese." Still the actual receipts from this fund have not been so considerable, as the auspices under which it was commenced might lead one to suppose. The author of "Foreign Conspiracy against the Liberties of the United States," to whom I am indebted for the extracts given above, and whose extreme jealousy of the Catholics must have led him to make the amount as large as possible, says, p. 28, "From the best authority, I have just learned, December 1834, that \$100,000 have been received from Austria within two years!" Mr. Hughes, a Catholic, in his controversy with Mr. Breckinridge, in 1836, observes in reference to this subject: "But the '*Leopold Foundation*.'—What of it? Its members, very limited in number, choose to tax themselves about a cent a week, in aid of foreign missions in America." And again: "All that was ever received by Catholics from foreign sources *together*, would not equal in amount the *annual* income of

missionaries, in the palmy days of the Jesuits, were in every land under heaven. She had begun to reap the fruits of her supineness; the ground was slipping from under her feet. Accordingly, we cannot wonder at the strenuous and simultaneous effort now made in Catholic countries to rekindle a zeal for the traditionary faith, and to place the religion of the people on its ancient basis; — an effort to which the priest, the magistrate, and the philosopher is each contributing as he can. The priest, — his love of power getting the better of his love of ease, — is striving indefatigably to revive among the ignorant the superstitions of the Middle Age, to allure and bribe the popular mind through its passion for marvels and show, and to impress the imagination and the religious sensibilities of all by time-hallowed associations, and by the pomp and mystery of a worship, which, if it was invented *by* man, was also invented *for* him, and therefore most studiously adapted to his nature. The magistrate, too, alarmed at the tremendous enginery which the lifting of the gates to a flood of new and immature thought has set in motion, looks round anxiously for what remains of conservative force in a tottering institution, which still, as if to mock the mutability of all earthly things, bears the lofty pretension on its front, “I change not.” Philosophy, also, as I have said, has lent its aid to this retrograde movement. And it is remarkable that the best theories which have been advanced in defence of popery on philosophical principles, — that of Count de Maistre, for example, who argues from the necessity of a tribunal of final adjudication, and that of the Abbé de la Mennais, who argues from the necessity of infallible authority as a bulwark against universal skepticism, and that of Baron d’Eckstein, who argues from a historical survey of what is necessary to the formation of a well constituted

the American Board of *Foreign Missions*.” Discussion of the Question, Is the Roman Catholic, or the Presbyterian Religion inimical to Liberty? p. 313.

Few, I suppose, will wonder at, or blame the conduct of the Catholics in the Western States, in looking abroad for pecuniary aid, to supply a multitude of stations among the Indians and Catholic settlements, which at present are either wholly vacant, or are only visited from time to time. Nevertheless, it is obligatory on Protestants to watch the growth and application of this fund, so far, at least, as it is of an anti-republican tendency, or is devoted to purposes of proselytism.

state, — do all proceed on the highest, or Ultramontane views of the papal supremacy.*

Nor has this combination to renew the ascendancy of the Catholic faith and worship been without its effects. Thus, the colossal but ill-compacted power of Austria is understood to be continually consolidating and strengthening itself through the growing efficiency of a church, which, as it involves in itself the idea of absolutism in the highest form, is the natural ally of absolutism in the state. Even in France, out of Paris, and with the further exception of a few towns and districts where Protestantism has long existed in considerable strength, the power of the hierarchy is again, we are told, beginning to be felt. Nay, in Paris itself, the success of St. Simonianism, until it was suppressed by authority, and more recently still, that of the new French Church, (*L'Eglise Française*,) under the Abbé Chatel, both of which in their religious aspects seem to be neither more nor less than infidel parodies on catholicism, clearly indicate to what form of positive religion the people are inclined, so far as they are inclined to any. Nor has this increased activity of the church of Rome confined itself to Catholic countries. In England and Scotland, and especially in the commercial and manufacturing cities, popery, it is said, never since the final ascendancy of Protestantism at the accession of Elizabeth, has made any thing like such rapid strides as during the last fifteen years. Seventy-five years ago, it appears, from official documents, that there were only seventy Roman Catholics in Manchester; now there are fifty thousand. At the commencement of the present century they were comparatively few in number in Liverpool; in 1833, they were estimated at fifty-two thousand. In Glasgow their number was estimated, at the same time, at thirty thousand, one seventh of the entire population. And in London there were two hundred thousand.

Meanwhile, the wave, in its onward course, has reached our shores. It is within the memory of some, when a papist in the New England States would have been shunned by the less enlightened, with superstitious dread, and by all with strong religious and political dislike; and when an attempt openly to celebrate mass would have excited in many places

* *Vues sur le Protestantisme en France*; par J. L. S. Vincent. Tome II. p. 309.

a tumult difficult, if not impossible, to quell. The first Catholic priest ordained in this country, (the Rev. Mr. Badin, now, we believe, of Detroit,) is still living. In 1807, the Catholics had but one prelate in the United States, the bishop of Baltimore. Now they have one archbishop, fourteen bishops, three hundred and seventy-five priests, four hundred and forty-three churches and stations, thirteen ecclesiastical seminaries, twenty-three female religious institutions or convents, fourteen colleges for young men, and thirty-seven female academies. Their whole number we have no means of ascertaining with exactness; but it probably does not vary much from eight hundred thousand. And to this it should be added, that we are bounded on the North by the Canadas, where the Catholics are to the Protestants as four to one, and on the South and West by Mexico, where none but the Catholic religion is tolerated.*

* For most of these statements I am indebted to "The United States Catholic Almanac, or Laity's Directory for the year 1837." The Catholics are most numerous in the Southern and Western States, partly because in some of these, as in Maryland, Louisiana, Missouri, and Illinois, they were the original settlers, but still more on account of the rapid and continual ingress of Catholic emigrants from abroad. This appears from the diverse tongues in which the word is dispensed; for they not only have French and German churches, but the same church is sometimes used at different hours for preaching in both these languages, as well as in the English. Thus, in the Cathedral of St. Louis, on Sundays, besides the high mass at 10 o'clock, at which there is an English and a French sermon alternately, there is mass and a sermon in the German language at 9 o'clock. Less is done by the Catholics than is generally supposed for the conversion of the natives; but they have some Indian schools and missionary stations. A mission has lately been established among the Kickapoos, at Kickapoo village, in the Indian Territory, Arkansas, by two Jesuits, the Rev. Charles Vanquickenborne and the Rev. P. Hoecken, assisted by three lay brothers of the society; one of whom superintends a school for the Indians. Much was said a few years ago of the flourishing state of the Catholic colleges and seminaries in the West, but their glory, it is believed, is fading away before the earnest competition of the rising Protestant institutions. In reading the General Regulations of St. Louis University, we could not but wonder at the toleration of a rule like the following by the "high-souled chivalry" of that section of our country. "Violations of the established discipline of the *University* are repressed in a kind, parental manner; *corporal punishment is inflicted only for grievous offences, and by none but the President,*

The alarm, which a too exclusive view of these facts has excited in some minds, has been heightened still further by the concurrence of circumstances of a more incidental or local character. Among these I may mention the reëstablishment, in 1814, of the Order of Jesuits, after it had been suppressed for more than forty years at the instance of the Catholic powers. Then the whole history of the struggle for Catholic emancipation in England, and its final success in 1829, would

or, in his absence, by the Vice-President." But our wonder abated sensibly, when, on reading further, we found that "No student is admitted *under the age of eight years*," "*unless for special reasons* ; and in all cases it is required that he bear a good moral character, *and know how to write and read his vernacular language.*" We copy from the Almanac the following table of Establishments conducted by different Religious Societies.

Dominican Convent, in Kentucky and Ohio,	2
Congregation of the Mission or Lazarists, in Missouri,	1
The Society of Jesus, 2 in Maryland, 2 in Missouri, and 1 in Kentucky,	5
The Redemptionists, in Ohio,	1
Society of St. Sulpitius, in Maryland,	1
Total,	10

The Ladies of the Sacred Heart, have under their care 2 institutions in Louisiana, and 3 in Missouri,	5
The Ursulines, 1 in S. Carolina, and 1 in Louisiana,	2
The Carmelites, 1 in Maryland,	1
The Sisters of Mercy, 1 in South Carolina,	1
The Sisters of Loretto, 2 in Missouri, and 5 in Kentucky,	7
The Ladies of the Visitation, 1 in Maryland, 1 in Illinois, and 1 in Alabama,	3
The Sisters of St. Clare, 1 in Michigan and 1 in North West Territory,	2
The Order of St. Joseph, 1 in Illinois,	1
The Sisters of Charity, 7 in the diocese of Baltimore, 9 in that of Philadelphia, 8 in New York, 1 in Massachusetts, 2 in Ohio, 1 in Indiana, 2 in Missouri, 5 in Kentucky, and 2 in Louisiana,	37
Total,	59

In speaking of the "Statistics of the Catholic Church throughout the World" the editors of the same work say: "From an Almanac published annually at Rome, under the inspection of local authorities, we learn that there are 12 patriarchates, 114 archbishoprics, and 556 bishoprics. The number of Catholics in the world is estimated at one hundred and eighty millions."

seem to imply that a disposition favorable to the Catholic religion, or, at least, to a removal of all restraints upon it, is gaining ground among Protestants. Their dreams are less troubled than they once were with the visions in the Apocalypse; they have come to the conclusion that the pope is not Antichrist or the Man of Sin, or, at any rate, they have ceased to fear or to hate him as they did formerly; and in either case, a principal obstacle to the spread of popery, to a certain extent, in Protestant countries is taken away.*

At the same time, some facts have transpired respecting Protestantism itself, which must operate, temporarily, to the advantage of its opponents. One is the tendency to an infidel and dead rationalism, which has manifested itself especially among the German Protestants, and which has done not a little to shake the confidence of timid or distrustful minds in the very principles of Protestantism. There is also a class of Protestants, more inclined to mysticism than to rationalism, with whom it is growing into a fashion to speak unguardedly of religion as founded on sentiment rather than on knowledge and argument, and who appear to think that symbols, and scenic exhibitions, and the fine arts, provided they act powerfully on the imagination and the feelings, have quite as much to do in regenerating and sanctifying the soul, as truth. This is certainly, though doubtless unconsciously, playing into the hands of the advocates of a communion, which unquestionably in all these respects can claim superiority over our plainer and simpler modes of worship, and of which it has been said, not

* There is, I know, another side to this argument. Where Catholics have been persecuted, as in Ireland, it is probable that many individuals and whole families have continued their adherence to the faith of their fathers, not so much from conviction or real preference on other grounds, as from the point of honor which hindered them from deserting an old cause and old friends in distress or jeopardy. Accordingly the "Irish Gentleman" begins the account of his "Travels in Search of a Religion" thus: "It was on the evening of the 16th day of April, 1829, — the very day on which the memorable news reached Dublin of the Royal Assent having been given to the Catholic Relief Bill, — that, as I was sitting alone in my chamber, up two pair of stairs, Trinity College, being myself one of the everlasting 'Seven Millions' thus liberated, I started suddenly, after a few moments reverie, from my chair, and taking a stride across the room, as if to make trial of a pair of emancipated legs, exclaimed, 'Thank God! I may now, if I like, turn Protestant.'"

less truly than happily, "The Church of Rome is dramatic in all its features. It seems to be its office, and its very essence to act Christianity, and to hold out in exterior exhibition that, which, in its true light, no eye but God's can see. No wonder the Church of Rome is fond of sacraments, when the definition of one so admirably suits herself; — she is 'an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual church.' " * I may add that there is a deeper reaction than that in favor of the Catholics, which the exigency of the times has brought forth, and by which the latter is aided; I mean the reaction which the license of innovation in every thing has created in favor of every thing which discourages innovation. A distinguished living writer, in speaking of the remarkable analogy between the last fifty years and the era of the Reformation, observes: "In each the characteristic features are a contempt for antiquity, a shifting of prejudices, an inward sense of self-esteem leading to an assertion of private judgment in the most uninformed, a sanguine confidence in the amelioration of human affairs, a fixing of the heart on great ends, with a comparative disregard of all things intermediate. In each there has been so much of alloy in the motives, and, still more, so much of danger and suffering in the means, that the cautious and moderate have shrunk back, and sometimes retraced their own steps, rather than encounter evils which, at a distance, they had not seen in their full magnitude." †

Furthermore, it is believed that the evils to be apprehended from the spread of popery in this country are peculiarly great. Even that glorious principle of our constitution, which forbids the government to interfere in matters of religion, secures to the Roman pontiff a degree of authority here which he would hardly dare to assert in the most Catholic of the European states. Austria, for example, which stands at the head of the Catholic powers, though it acknowledges the pope's spiritual supremacy, by no means allows him to act even in that capacity within its territories, except under the control of the

* The (Dublin) Christian Examiner, cited by the author of an able article on the "Spread of the Catholics in the United States," published last year in a series of numbers in the Christian Register.

† Hallam's Introduction to the Literature of Europe. Vol. I. pp. 498, 499.

civil authorities. All appeals to the Rota, or supreme ecclesiastical tribunal at Rome, are prohibited, and no papal bull or decretal can be promulgated without the previous sanction of the Emperor. The pope's nuncio is recognised in no other character but as an ordinary envoy from a foreign court; nor have the horrors of the Inquisition at any time been allowed to disgrace the Austrian soil. Again, — to say nothing of conversions made here, which are probably neither frequent, nor numerous, nor important, — there is a flood of emigrants from abroad, mostly Catholics, continually pouring in upon us, to recruit and swell the ranks of Holy Mother Church, whose ignorance, or desperate fortunes, or want of love or adaptation for our institutions must make them the facile tools of any who would mislead them in their political relations, by acting on their superstitions and prejudices. It is even said that the practical operation of our doctrine that majorities must govern, has awakened sanguine hopes on the part of the advisers of his Holiness, inasmuch as, so far as credulity or superstition are relied upon, they may be expected to have more influence over an ill-informed multitude, than over sovereign princes, or cabinet councillors. Certain it is, that our doctrine of majorities tends to restrain the press, and prevent public men from speaking out their real sentiments in regard to the political aspects of the Catholic question, through the operation of that cause, which is now doing so much to corrupt minds otherwise sufficiently fair and independent; — I mean, the hope of gaining, or the fear of losing, a few votes. *

* Some topics have been dwelt upon in this connexion, with more zeal, than judgment or fairness. A popular writer has said: "In the year 1828, the celebrated Frederick Schlegel, one of the most distinguished literary men of Europe, delivered lectures at Vienna, on the Philosophy of History, (which have not been translated into English,) a great object of which is to show the *mutual support which Popery and Monarchy* derive from each other. He commends the two systems in connexion as deserving of universal reception. He attempts to prove that sciences and arts, and all the pursuits of man as an intellectual being, are best promoted under this perfect system of church and state; a Pope at the head of the former; an Emperor at the head of the latter. He contrasts with this, the system of Protestantism; represents Protestantism as the enemy of good government, as the ally of Republicanism, as the parent of the distresses of Europe, as the cause of all disorders with which legitimate governments are

With these facts and statements before us, who will say that Protestants, at this crisis, have no reason for union and

afflicted. In the close of lecture 17th, Vol. II. p. 286, he thus speaks of this country: 'The true nursery of all these destructive principles, the revolutionary school for France and the rest of Europe, has been North America. Thence the evil has spread over many other lands, either by natural contagion, or by arbitrary communication.' " Foreign Conspiracy against the Liberties of the United States. — Preface, pp. xvii. xviii.

I have before me Robertson's Translation of Schlegel's Lectures on the Philosophy of History, from which it appears that Schlegel is not so unqualified in his rejection of Republicanism as the writer just quoted would lead us to suppose. In his Thirteenth Lecture he expresses himself thus: "But more than this we should not say, — namely, that the Christian government, founded as it is on personality and on sentiment, inclines *on the whole* strongly towards the monarchical form, — a leaning which is by no means incompatible with many Republican usages and Republican Institutions of a subordinate kind. Still less should we exaggerate this idea so far, as to maintain that the Christian government is entirely and necessarily monarchical, even in its outward form; and that a Republic is objectionable at all times and under all circumstances without distinction." Again he says; "A Republican government which is founded not so much on the abstract or rationalist principle of absolute freedom and equality, but on ancient customs and hereditary rights, on freedom of sentiment and generosity of character, consequently, on personality, is by no means essentially opposed to the true spirit of monarchy; still less is it inconsistent with the Christian theory of government. But a despotism, illegitimate not perhaps in its origin, but in its abuse of power, strikes at the first principles of the Christian state, whose mild, temperate, and historical character is as abhorrent from absolutism, as from the opposite principle of unqualified freedom, and universal equality, — the revolutionary principle, which involves the overthrow of all existing rights." Vol. II. pp. 122, 123. Nay, in a series of articles, under the head "Characteristics of the Age," published in 1820 in a political journal entitled "Concordia," he is represented as expressly affirming, that "under certain circumstances, and in certain countries, the Republic, whether democratic or aristocratic, may answer that end, [that of the Christian state,] as well or even better than monarchy." Memoir prefixed to Vol. I. p. 50. In regard to the extract from Schlegel given in the "Foreign Conspiracy," it is proper to observe that he is speaking, not of the particular abuses, but of the origin of the revolutionary convulsions of modern times, — of the first effectual impulse given to this overwhelming movement. "It would be unjust," he says, "always to term this the French Revolution, or to consider it exclusively as such, — it was a general political malady, — an universal epidemic of the age. In Holland and Belgium a Revo-

concert, and for increased vigilance and activity. Still there is no occasion for a panic, or for precipitate and suspicious measures of any kind, or for fears of the final result. Notwithstanding this slight and temporary reaction in its favor, the doom of Papal Rome is as irrevocably sealed, as that of Imperial Rome. This reaction, so far as it really exists, can easily be accounted for, without supposing that society and the human mind are likely to prove false to their destiny of eternal progress. The deep under-currents, the real and prevailing tendencies of the age, and of our country in particular, are all in another direction. I ought, likewise, to observe, before passing from this topic, that the Catholic religion is daily becoming less formidable in itself, as it feels, and cannot but feel and accommodate itself to, the continual advances of light and civilization. Nay, it is but justice to add, that Austria, the leading power among the Catholics of Germany, scarcely yields to Prussia, the leading power among the Protestants, in its zeal to promote public schools. For the rest, it is only necessary that we should be true to our cause, that, forgetting our idle janglings about questions as idle, we should rally, as one man, on the great principles of the Refor-

lution had previously broken out, — the Polish Revolution occurred about the same time ; but though the Belgian, and more particularly the Polish Revolutions were of a totally different character from the French, they still presented to the turbulent spirit of the age one example more of political commotion. But North America had been to France and the rest of Europe the real school and nursery of all these revolutionary principles. Natural contagion, or wilful propagation spread this disorder over many other countries, — but France continued to be the centre and general focus of Revolution." Vol. II. p. 298.

Nothing can be more explicit and solemn than the asseverations, made by eminent Catholics of this country, both lay and ecclesiastic, of sincere and hearty attachment to Republican institutions, and of their entire and absolute independence, so far as their civil and political relations are concerned, of popes, and Councils, and every other foreign power. See particularly, Judge Gaston's Speech in the State Convention of North Carolina, and Bishop England's Sermon in Congress Hall. It is well known that one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, Charles Carroll, was a Catholic. It is still more remarkable that the present Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, though filling an office requiring, above any other perhaps, the most entire trustworthiness, and singleness of devotion to the Constitution, is also a Catholic.

mation, and show a disposition to carry out, in all its applications and bearings, the doctrine by which we are so gloriously distinguished, that "the Bible and the Bible only is the religion of Protestants."

I am next to speak, a little more particularly, of the manner in which the alleged reaction in favor of the Roman Catholics is to be met. And here, too, you must not expect me to speak in the spirit of an alarmist, or partisan. I would consider the subject calmly and dispassionately, as I believe a Christian statesman or historian would regard it, and not as a polemic. I will not lend myself to a coarse and indiscriminate denunciation of a church, which has reared in her bosom such men as Sir Thomas More and the Chancellor de l'Hospital, and at her very altars, such men as Fenelon, and Pascal, and Borromeo. It is enough if I can say, in the words and spirit of the dying declaration of Lord Russell, who fell a martyr to his dread of the papal ascendancy: "I wish, with all my soul, all unhappy differences removed, and that all sincere Protestants would so far consider the danger of popery, as to lay aside their heats, and agree against the common enemy. For popery, I look on it as an idolatrous and bloody religion, and therefore thought myself bound in my station to do all I could against it. * * * Yet whatever apprehensions I had of popery, I never had a thought of doing any thing against it, basely or inhumanly, but what could well consist with the Christian religion, and the laws and liberties of this kingdom."*

I begin, then, by observing that little is gained in this controversy, as it seems to me, by persisting in a literal and specific application to the Church of Rome, or its constituted head, of those passages of scripture which speak of Antichrist, the Man of Sin, and the mystic Babylon. It can only be the very ignorant who are yet to learn that many of the ablest among Protestant critics put another construction on these controverted texts; that Paul's Man of Sin, for example, is made by some to stand for Simon Magus, and by others, for Caius Cæsar, or for the Emperor Titus and the Flavian family, or for the Antichristian party among the

* The paper, from which these passages are taken, was put into the hands of the sheriff on the scaffold by the noble sufferer. It is given entire in Cross's *Papal Supremacy*, pp. 53, 54.

Jews. Candid minds, of course, will be slow to lay much stress on a scriptural argument, based, as this is, on such uncertainty of interpretation; nay, they will be offended and disgusted if they see it urged at the expense of charity, and obviously with a view to take advantage of the prejudices of the uninformed. It is very probable that popery in its whole history, in all its changes, has presented every supposable form of ecclesiastical usurpation and abuse, and those forms, among the rest, which are specially denounced by the sacred writers; so that, in this view of the matter, the passages above referred to may be in some sense applied or accommodated to the papal hierarchy. Even in doing this, however, the zealous assailants of popery should beware, lest they prejudice their own cause among the better part of the community, by the very means they resort to for advancing it among the worse; above all, lest they take up with the preposterous though but too prevalent notion, that Christians are at liberty to abuse one another to their heart's content, provided only that they do it in scripture language.

Little also is gained in this controversy, as it seems to me, by charging on the Catholic church the blood of the martyrs. Alas for us, there is scarcely a Protestant sect which is not in the same condemnation, according to the measure of its power and opportunities, due allowance being made for the greater progress of general civilization in the age or country in which it has flourished. Thus, for example, though it is with a sort of traditionary shudder that the times of "bloody Queen Mary" are still referred to by many in England, and this country, it now appears, that the number of Protestant martyrs under her reign was equalled, if not exceeded, by that of the Catholic martyrs under the reign of her successor. There are writers, I know, who, blinded perhaps by their zeal for truth and liberty, think to make a distinction here, which to my mind, so far as the present argument is concerned, is neither sound nor honest. They tell us, that the Catholics, who were executed under Elizabeth, were not executed for their errors in religion, but for breaking the laws of the state. True; but what was the substantial difference between punishing them directly for their errors in religion, and passing laws which made the profession and practice of their religion, and what was necessary thereto, to be high treason, and then punishing them not as Catholics, but as

traitors? Neither can the Reformed Church of Geneva and Holland, or the Presbyterians of Scotland, or the Congregationalists of New England give a much better account of the use which they made of their power, so long as the state of society and public opinion was such as to sanction the shedding of blood to compel unity of faith.

Am I told that the Catholic church is necessarily a persecuting church under all circumstances, because avowedly exclusive; that is to say, because it denies the possibility of salvation out of its own pale? "Why," as Mr. Canning argued in one of his speeches in parliament in favor of Catholic Emancipation, "almost all the churches are exclusive on some articles; and let not those members who urge this objection forget that the Church of England holds the Athanasian Creed,—a human exposition of the great mysteries of Christianity,—and holds it with the expressed declaration, that they who differ from it cannot be saved."* I readily admit that

* Speech in support of the Bill of 1825, "for removing the disqualifications of his Majesty's Roman Catholic Subjects." Some of my readers may be curious to know how far the Church of Rome carries the doctrine of exclusive salvation. "Roman Catholics hold, 1st, that whatever be the religious belief of the parents of a person who is baptized, and whatever be the faith of the person who baptizes him, he becomes, in the instant of his baptism, a member of the holy Catholic Church, mentioned in the Apostles' creed: 2dly, That he receives on his baptism justifying grace and justifying faith: 3dly, That he loses the former, by the commission of any mortal sin: 4thly, That he loses the latter by the commission of a mortal sin against faith; but does not lose it by the commission of a mortal sin of any other kind: 5thly, That, without such wilful ignorance or wilful error, as amounts to a crime in the eye of God, a mortal sin against faith is never committed: And 6thly, That except in an extreme case, no individual is justified in imputing, even in his own mind, this criminal ignorance, or criminal error to any other individual." Butler's *Vindication of the Book of the Roman Catholic Church*. Second Edition, p. 34. That Catholics sometimes act on these principles, according to the most liberal construction, is admitted by Dr. Phillpotts himself, the present bishop of Exeter, one of the ablest as well as most implacable of their antagonists. "Not many months ago," he wrote in 1827, "at a public dinner in the County of Northumberland, on 'The cause of civil and religious liberty all over the world' being given as a toast, a Roman Catholic gentleman, Mr. Silvertop, whom I name to honor, addressed the company in the following words:—'One of the scruples stated to exist in some of the freeholders, with

the doctrine of exclusive salvation, by whomsoever held, is a dangerous error ; but I cannot see, that it is a much more dangerous error as held by Catholics, than as held by many Protestants. Perhaps, too, it is more philosophical and more in accordance with facts, as well as more charitable, to refer religious persecution in all cases to the influence of temper rather than of theory, and to bear in mind that every sect takes its temper not so much from its creed, as from the times. And if this be so, then we may conclude that not a little of the bad eminence, which the Catholic church has gained by its intolerance and persecutions, is to be imputed not to its doctrines properly so called, nor even to its constitution and discipline ; but to the single circumstance that it had the power

regard to the Catholics, is that they are intolerant, because they maintain to themselves *exclusive salvation*. With respect to this point, I cannot avail myself of a better proof than that which is offered by my learned friend who sits near me. My learned friend is descended from Roman Catholic parents, he was baptized in the Catholic Faith, and educated in its tenets ; but, in the sincerity of his heart, he has abjured that religion, and espoused that of the Reformed Church. But notwithstanding my learned friend now professes a different faith, I do not therefore think he is less likely than myself to obtain happiness hereafter ; and I should be guilty of gross blasphemy, if I thought otherwise ; for of all the gifts which God has given to man reason is the most valuable ; and if my learned friend has availed himself of that reason in coming to a determination to abandon his former religion, and I, in the exercise of mine, have adhered to my faith, I hope the gates of heaven will be equally open to us." A letter to the Right Hon. George Canning on the Bill of 1825 for relieving the Roman Catholics. Third Edition. pp. 161, 162.

Still Archdeacon Blackburne, in 1768, to the question, "How far upon Protestant principles the Papists have a right to be tolerated in Protestant communities," could reply as follows : "The Protestant principle of free, equal, and mutual toleration may be considered under the notion of a covenant, wherein the tolerating churches, as contracting parties, agree to acknowledge each other's freedom and independency, and mutually to support each other under the common protection of, and in subordination to, the civil magistrate, in the full and absolute enjoyment of their religious liberty. But a Popish *intolerant* church can plead no right to be included in such a covenant on any principle of equity whatever." Considerations on the Present State of the Controversy between the Protestants and Papists, p. 74. There would be more force in this reasoning, if tolerance and charity were not Christian virtues, obligatory on higher grounds than social convenience or mutual compact.

when there was nothing in the state of society or public opinion to restrain its exercise. I suspect that any church, in what are called, not without reason, the Dark Ages, would have been a persecuting church ; — that it would have found some plea or other, even if it did not hold the doctrine of exclusive salvation, on which to rid itself of the plague of dissent. But a better day has dawned ; the morning is spread upon the mountains ; and the light is finding its way everywhere, and beginning to show its effects everywhere. Years have passed away since the fires of the last Catholic *auto da fe* went out ; and that they will never be kindled again we have the best pledge of which the nature of the case admits, — not in the doctrines, or the protestations of the Catholics themselves, for I should not depend much on that security, but, — in the gradual progress, and in the liberalizing and humanizing power of Christian civilization. And as for the milder forms of religious bigotry and intolerance, I cannot but think it would be better for all of both parties to see to it that their own hands are clean in this matter, instead of indulging in a spirit of mutual recrimination, as if the vices in question were the vices of one particular sect, and not of individuals in every sect. “Poor human nature !” Jouffroy exclaims, — “the true source of all the evil ; because, being feeble, it perceives only a portion of the truth ; and because, being proud, it is ever ready to boast that it possesses the truth absolute and complete.”

Again, I cannot but think that those Protestants err, who propose to withstand the inroads of popery by the various means of popular agitation. I know that this is the way in which almost every thing of a public nature is attempted at the present day, and that the expedient is apt to find favor partly because it is an easy one, and partly because its results are immediate and apparent. But let the people discover that they have been trifled with repeatedly by idle rumors resting on the authority of incompetent or worthless witnesses, — let them see that their honest credulity has been tampered with by men who ought to have known better, and who had their private ends to carry, — let them feel also that they have thus been betrayed into acts involving them in serious difficulty, perhaps covering them with mortification and reproach, and is it not certain that they will begin to distrust a cause which finds it necessary or convenient to avail itself of such agents

and such weapons? If there is any real *information* to be imparted, if any light can be shed on the subject, let not the pulpit or the press be restrained, by a weak timidity or a short-sighted policy, from uttering itself freely in God's name. But let us not go about to stir up popular prejudices, and inflame popular resentments, and then miscall it — enlightening the popular mind. On the contrary, let it be understood that those who take this course make themselves responsible for the consequences, — responsible, I do not say before courts of law, but in view of conscience, before the bar of public opinion, and in the sight of the unerring Judge. Nor is it as difficult, as some might suppose, to distinguish the real enlightener of the public mind from the mere agitator and panic-maker. 'If he dwells chiefly on those topics which from local causes have become peculiarly and unduly exciting, — if he takes care to present a selection only of the facts, the effect of which must be to give an impression as false as if he uttered absolute untruths, — if he makes no account of the real and substantial reforms which the Catholic religion has undergone in some countries, or of the manner in which the highest living Catholic authorities speak of the corruptions of their own church, or of the explanations they put on the most offensive of its essential features, — and if, to crown all, he scatters about dark and vague intimations of plots, and conspiracies, and politico-religious movements, resting on no solid evidence, — if he does all this, or any of this, and still declaims about the sacred right of free discussion, and the duty of enlightening and directing public opinion, — is it not plain, either that he wants the power of moral discrimination, or, which perhaps is oftener the case, is willing to proceed on the assumption that those whom he addresses want it?

The strong and invulnerable positions, which we, as Protestants, are to take in opposing this partial resuscitation of popery, and this incursion of it into our own borders, are these three. We must show that its doctrines and institutions, so far as they are peculiar, are unscriptural and false; that any accidental use which some of its doctrines and institutions may have had, and may still have, in a different state of society, has passed away so far as this country is concerned, so that now and here their whole tendency is simply mischievous or dangerous; and lastly, and above all, that the great Protestant right of private judgment in matters of faith, is every-

where to be vindicated and maintained at all hazards, as an undefeasible right of the human soul.

Of course, I shall not be expected to go here into a full and distinct specification of the errors which Romanism involves. Suffice it to observe, in the first place, that these errors strikingly illustrate the singular fact, that in religion the way of corruption has ever been, not by taking from, but by adding to, the primitive doctrine. Thus the various forms of paganism grew up into the overshadowing and debasing superstitions they at length became, by adding one invention and tradition after another to the simple and childlike mode, in which the world in its infancy acknowledged and worshipped the Creator. So, too, Hindooism and Mohammedanism, as they manifest themselves at the present day, consist of little else besides a mass of inventions and traditions, accumulated in successive ages on the comparatively pure theism out of which both religions originally arose. And so it was with Judaism, every generation having done something to enlarge and corrupt it, until by a continual accession of new inventions and traditions it gradually grew up to be what it was in the time of Christ, when the whole dispensation, as administered by the Scribes and Pharisees, had become a totally different thing from what it was, as it came from the hands of Moses. The reason of this is to be found in the propensity of mankind to come at last to regard as part of their religion, what they have long been in the habit, from any cause, of associating with religion. Can we wonder, then, that Christianity, under the perpetual action of the same law of the human mind, has experienced a similar fate? Let me add, that the strength of the objection against the Catholic exposition of Christianity, as being unscriptural and false, does not consist in its including some errors; this, we suppose, is no more than what might be said of every Protestant exposition. The additions which the Church of Rome has made to Christianity, her multiplication of the sacraments, her heaping ceremony upon ceremony, making so much to depend on the intrinsic virtue (*opere operato*) of external observances, and addressing the whole to the imagination and the feelings, rather than to the reason and the conscience, have entirely changed the character, the spirit, the very genius, if I may so speak, of the institution. These additions, I repeat, have not only had the effect to mix up error with the truth, but also to modify and

obstruct the entire action of the truth, making the dispensation, *as a whole*, to be an entirely different sort of dispensation in its pervading spirit and genius. To prove this I need only remind you, that it is of the very essence of Christianity, rightly understood, to induce a perfectly spiritual faith and worship, to make every thing to depend at last on inward fealty, on the faith of the heart and holiness of life; whereas, for all I can see, the Church of Rome makes religion to be as much an outward thing, and presents it under forms as gross, and palpable, and sensuous, as did the more refined and polished systems of paganism which she supplanted. Neither does it seem to me that any reform of proper Catholicism can go any further than to accommodate a little better a spurious principle of religion, or a false mode of religious action, to an improved state of society.

Besides, it is not necessary for Protestants to deny, that the Catholic religion was better than any other would have been during the feudal times,—that in the providence of God, whose prerogative it is to bring good out of evil, its very corruptions may have had an important mission to fulfill in the education of the human race. Sir James Mackintosh somewhere observes that we probably owe it to the celibacy of the clergy, — which is commonly and justly reckoned among the worst abuses of the Church of Rome, — that advantage was not taken of the almost unlimited influence of the priesthood in the Middle Age to impose on Christendom a spiritual despotism, far more to be deprecated than the papal, because everywhere watched over and sustained, as in Egypt, by the power of an hereditary caste. So, too, in regard to its doctrines respecting the corporal presence, the entire ritual, relics, images, and pictures, — when all were unlearned, these things, through their suggestive power, must have been to the great body of worshippers as books, and in this way must have answered a good and important purpose; or at least, under such circumstances, they must have come under the denomination of what Calvin calls “tolerable fooleries.” But such have been the changes in society, and the diffusion of other means of light and thought, that these appendages to worship are no longer needed; nay more, the moral associations connected with them being lost or reversed, they have become pernicious or vain, either suggesting nothing, or suggesting what prevailingly offends or repels. The Catholic religion has

had its day. In the providence of God it had a purpose to fulfill, and it has fulfilled it. It can do no more ; and it is only an obstacle in the way of faith and piety, so long as it hinders the prevalence of forms of religion that are more in harmony with advanced stages of general civilization.

But all this is mere skirmishing. The solemn call, at which Protestants should rally as one man, is for the defence of the sufficiency of the Scriptures, and the right of private judgment in the interpretation of the Scriptures. We must give over this babbling about "the Doctrines of the Reformation;" we must learn that there was no set of theological tenets by which the first reformers, as such, were distinguished ; but that in this respect they differed among themselves, and were understood to differ from the beginning. They agreed only in the principles, on which they professed to come to their doctrines ; and it is over these principles, rightly denominated "the Principles of the Reformation," that the battle is to be fought. It is not enough considered that a man may hold all the doctrines of the Catholic church, not excepting those of papal supremacy and infallibility, as now explained by some Catholic writers,* and still if he holds them as matter of per-

* "The infallibility of the Church was not believed during the first centuries. Between the period of the Nicene Council, in the fourth century, and Gregory the Seventh, many traces of this opinion appear. From Gregory the Seventh until the Western Schism, in the fourteenth century, it was placed mostly in the infallibility of the Pope. From that period until the Council of Trent, the idea prevailed, that only the church collected in General Council is infallible. Since that period, the opinions of Catholic theologians have been divided on this point. Some (the genuine Romanists) make the Pope the subject of this infallibility ; others (and among these, even Febronius,) suppose the Œcumenical Councils alone infallible ; others still (and principally the French theologians since the middle of the seventeenth century) attribute infallibility only to the Church dispersed at large. At present this doctrine is wholly abandoned by some of the more liberal Catholic theologians. Vid. the excellent book, (written by a Catholic,) entitled, *Kritische Geschichte der kirchlichen Unfehlbarkeit, zur Beförderung einer freyern Prüfung des Katholicismus*, Frankf. a. M. 1792, 8vo. Cf. also the very learned and liberal work, entitled, *Thomas Freykirch, oder Freymüthige Untersuchung von einem katholischen Gottesgelehrten über die Unfehlbarkeit der katholischen Kirche*, 1r. B. Franckf. und Leipzig, 1792, 8vo." Knapp's *Christian Theology*. Vol. II. p. 490.

sonal inquiry and conviction, and *protests* against the exercise of any form of arbitrary authority, he is in heart and in deed a Protestant. On the contrary, a man may hold all the doctrines of Calvin, or Arminius, or Socinus, and still if he holds them, not because he has reproduced them in his own mind, but only as matter of tradition or dictation, he has nothing of the Protestant but the name. The Protestant Reformation has utterly failed of its great purpose, and needs itself to be reformed, if it has not abolished, I do not say the papal institution merely, but the papal spirit. It is a poor change indeed, if all that has been done has only had the effect to put down one pope in order to set up a hundred; if men refuse to prostrate their understandings before the decision of a living church, and yet do not hesitate to do this before a dead creed, which is nothing perhaps but the decision of that same church in an age of comparative rudeness and ignorance; if we have thrown off the tyranny of the "Lords Bishops," merely that we may submit to that of the "lords brethren." If usage, or numbers, or authority, or imagination is to decide the question of faith and worship, the Catholic is right, and the Protestant is wrong.

However, in our zeal for Protestantism, let us not make it, as is the manner of some, a merely negative thing. It has its conservative as well as its radical side. Let us remember that we cast off the yoke of prescription and authority, merely that we may inquire for ourselves; and that to do this with any prospect of success, we must first put ourselves, intellectually and morally, into a condition to inquire; and then be willing to bestow some labor and thought on a subject, the most interesting and profound that can engage the attention of the human mind. It is a hollow and spurious Protestantism, — that which makes liberty of conscience to consist in the mere assertion of the right of private judgment, without having the courage, or without taking the trouble, to exercise that right. There are but too many, I am afraid, who are Protestants so far as this, that they will not take any thing in religion on trust, and yet do not seem aware of the palpable obligation involved in this step, to make the subject a matter of personal investigation. Besides, let me add, that in casting off the yoke of authority in matters of faith and conscience, we are not to be understood as discarding a proper deference for that authority which is founded in nature and

reason. For, after all, there is a sense in which religion itself, under many of its aspects, and so far at least as it depends on a knowledge of history or criticism, must be taken on trust, to a certain extent, by the bulk of mankind; nor is there any thing in this inconsistent with the spirit or the letter of Protestantism, so long as we are left entirely free to choose in whom we will confide, and confide in them no further than we see just cause.

And now who will say that Protestantism, so understood and so guarded, tends to unsettle the foundations of morality or religion? It was not Protestantism but popery, in the last century, which made France a nation of infidels; and it is not Protestantism but popery, at the present day, which is making almost every enlightened and independent thinker in Spain and Italy, a despiser of revelation.* And even in those Protestant countries, in which, as in some of the German states, unbelief is understood to prevail extensively, it is not because men have been true to Protestantism, but because they have been false to it. It is because, though they did not insist on the infallibility of the Pope, they insisted on the infallibility of a creed, refusing to allow it to be revised and modified, as was required by the progress of inquiry. For this, of course, made it necessary that many of their divines should have one faith for the study, and another for the pulpit and the lecture-room; and whoever undertakes to teach others what he does not believe himself, — I care not how ingeniously, I care not how eloquently, — will make nothing but infidels; and the effect on his own mind will probably be to induce, under the mask of the popular religion, — universal skepticism. Accordingly I do not regard the explicit and frank

* "I have been enabled," says Blanco White, "to make an estimate of the moral and intellectual state of Spain, which few, who know me and that country, will, I trust, be inclined to discredit. Upon the strength of this knowledge, I declare again and again that very few among my own class (I comprehend clergy and laity) think otherwise than I did before my removal to England." At this time he had renounced Christianity, — and was "bordering on atheism." He goes on: "The testimony of all who frequent the continent, — a testimony which every one's knowledge of foreigners supports, — represents all Catholic countries in a similar condition." *Evidence against Catholicism*, p. 39. The last statement, I would fain believe, is made more broadly than facts will warrant.

avowal of Rationalism and Anti-Supernaturalism on the part of some of the leading German theologians, during the last half century, as being an aggravation of their error. It is a return to honesty at least ; nay, I cannot but hope, and present appearances are doing much to encourage and confirm this hope, that, if a perfectly free expression and discussion of opinion be allowed, it will prove the first step towards a return to a living and saving faith. And thus, among Protestants themselves, fidelity to Protestantism will be found the only effectual remedy for the melancholy defection which treason to it has caused.

I speak to Protestants, who are not afraid of the truth, and who mean that it shall not be restrained by mortal man. I speak to descendants of the Puritans, who have inherited from their fathers an equal reverence for liberty and law. I speak also to young men whose minds are here to be imbued and nourished with good learning ; and "Learning," says Jortin, "has a lovely child, called Moderation." Be it so. For it is only by a union of zeal for truth and liberty, with a profound reverence for law and order, both being tempered and presided over by a spirit of moderation, that the youth of this land can come up "to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty." In this way, and in this way only can they hope to ward off the perils by which the country is menaced, see realized its sublime destinies, as the only self-governed nation on earth, and vindicate and secure to it forever the glorious inheritance of Protestantism, — "the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free."

ART. II.—THE BOOK OF JOB.

THERE has been much discussion, in former times, in regard to the particular department of poetry and literature, under which the book of Job should be classed. Undue importance has without doubt been attached to this question ; and the scope and spirit of the work have in a degree been lost sight of in the eagerness to establish its claim to a particular name,

or its place in a particular department of poetical composition. The truth is, that there is nothing that bears an exact resemblance to it in Grecian, Roman, or modern literature. It has something in common not only with different forms of composition, but with different departments of literature. Those, who have given it the appellation of an epic poem, have applied to it a term the least suited to its character, and the most unjust to its claims, as a work of art. They have made unimportant circumstances in regard to its form of more consequence than its substantial character, spirit, and design. Nothing can be more evident than the fact, that to excite interest in the personal fortunes of Job, as the hero of a poem, was not the principal design of the writer. Still less was it his design to unfold characteristic traits in the other personages introduced into the work. Some it is true have discovered, as they supposed, striking characteristic traits in Eliphaz, the Temanite, Bildad the Shuhite, and Zophar the Naamathite, and have pointed out the different degrees of severity which they exhibited towards their friend in his distress. It appears to me that these writers have drawn largely upon their own imaginations to make out their representations. There is no doubt some diversity in the manner and substance of the discourses of the friends of Job. The author may have put the longest and best speeches into the mouth of an inhabitant of a city, so famous for its wisdom as Teman; and to young Elihu, whom some regard as an interloper, thrust into the place he occupies by a later writer than the author, he certainly assigns the language of a young man, who has made rather an extravagant estimate of his abilities and his consequence. But I seek in vain for evidence that the author made it a principal object, to excite an interest in the actions or characters of the personages whom he introduces.

There is more plausibility in the views of those, who have regarded and named the book of Job a dramatic poem. For undoubtedly the character of Job has a tragic interest, and reminds one of the most interesting characters of Grecian tragedy, suffering by the will of the Gods or the necessities of Fate. In regard to its form there is something resembling dialogue, and something which bears a distant resemblance to a prologue and epilogue. The author has also skilfully introduced into various parts of the work hints having reference to the final issue of the fortunes of Job, similar to those which occur in

the best of the Greek tragedies. See Ch. viii. 6, 7 ; xvi. 19 ; xix. 25, &c., compared with Ch. xlii. Still, to give the name of a drama or a tragedy to this production, is to give it a name from what is incidental to it, rather than from its pervading spirit and prominent design. In fact to call it a poem of any kind fails to suggest the characteristic feature of the work, though it contains poetry, which, perhaps, has never been surpassed.

If we have regard to the main design, the substance and spirit of the work, we shall refer it to the department of moral or religious philosophy. It contains the moral or religious philosophy of the time when it was produced. It is rather a philosophical religious discussion in a poetical form, than an epic poem or a drama. It is the effusion of the mind and heart of the author upon a moral subject, which has agitated the human bosom in every age. Still the author was a poet, as well as a religious philosopher. In the mode of presenting the subject to his readers he aimed, like other poets, to move the human feelings by exhibitions of passion, and scenes of distress, and to please the taste by the sublime flights of his imagination. He aimed to give the highest interest to his subject by clothing his thoughts in the loftiest language of poetry, and arranging them in the measured rhythm, which is one of the characteristics of Hebrew poetry.

The main subject of this *unique* production is the ways of Providence in regard to the distribution of good and evil in the world, in connexion with the doctrine of a righteous retribution in the present life, such as seemed to be contained in the Jewish religion. It sets forth the struggle between faith in the perfect government of God, or in a righteous retribution in the present life, and the various doubts excited in the soul of man, by what it feels or sees of human misery, and by what it knows of the prosperity of the contemners of God. These doubts the author expresses in strong and irreverent language from the lips of Job, while the received doctrine of retribution, which pervades the Jewish religion, is maintained and reiterated from the personages introduced as the friends of Job.

The subject is one which comes home to men's business and bosoms. Even under the light of Christianity, perhaps there are few, who have not in peculiar seasons felt the strife between faith in the perfect government of God, and the

various feelings excited in the mind by what they have experienced or witnessed of human suffering. The pains of the innocent, of those, who cannot discern their right hand from their left hand, the protracted calamities, which are often the lot of the righteous, and the prosperity which often crowns the designs of the wicked, have at times excited wonder, perplexity, and doubt in almost every thinking mind. We, as Christians, silence our doubts, and confirm our faith, by what experience teaches us of the general wisdom and benevolence of the Creator, by the consideration that affliction comes from the same merciful hand that is the source of all the good, that we have ever enjoyed, by the perception of the moral and religious influences of adversity, and especially by the hope of the joy in a better world set before those, who endure to the end. The Apostle could say for the consolation of himself and his fellow sufferers, "For I reckon that the sufferings of the present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed." And every Christian knows that the captain of his salvation ascended to his throne of glory from the ignominious cross. The cross is the great source of the Christian's consolation. But let us suppose ourselves to be deprived of those sources of consolation, which are peculiar to a disciple of Christ, and we may conceive of the state of mind of the author of the book of Job, upon whom the sun of righteousness had never dawned. Is it strange that the soul of a pious Jew, who lived before "life and immortality were brought to light by the gospel," should have been agitated by the conflict between such a faith in retribution, as his religion seemed to require, and the doubts and murmurings excited by what he felt and saw of the calamities of the righteous, and witnessed of the prosperity of the wicked? One of the most enlightened of the Romans, when called to mourn the early loss of the children of his hopes, was led, as he says, almost "to accuse the gods, and to exclaim that no providence governed the world."

An Arabic poet, quoted by Dr. Pococke,* writes

Quot intellectu præstantes in angustias rediguntur ?
Et summè stolidos invenies prospere agentes ?
Hoc est quod animos perplexos relinquit,
Et egregiè doctos Sadducæos reddit.

* Not. in Port. Mos. C. vii. Opp. p. 214.

How many wise men are reduced to distress ?
 How many fools will you find in prosperity ?
 It is this, that leaves the mind in perplexity,
 And makes Sadducees of very learned men.

We think that many have stated too strongly the argument for immortality, drawn from the apparent inequalities of the present state. To maintain that there is little or no retribution in this part of the Creator's dominions, appears to me not the best way of proving, that there will be a perfect one in another part of them. But the sentiments referred to may serve to illustrate the mental condition of a pious man of exalted genius, who appears to have had no conception, or at least no belief, of a state after death, that was desirable in comparison with the present life.

In Ps. lxxiii. we have the thoughts which passed through the mind of another upon the same subject.

Yet my feet almost gave way ;
 My steps had well nigh slipped ;
 For I was envious of the profane,
 When I saw the prosperity of the wicked, &c.

Ps. xxxvii. may also be considered as being upon the same subject, and in fact the book of Ecclesiastes, though a more skeptical spirit seems to pervade the latter than either of those psalms, or the book of Job.

Such being the subject which filled the mind of the author of Job, the question arises, how he has treated it, or what he aimed to accomplish in regard to it. That, in his own view, he had solved all the difficulties which embarrass the understanding in regard to it, is not very probable. But that he proposed to establish some truths in relation to it, as well as to inculcate the duty of entire submission to God, and unreserved faith in him, is, I think, clear. I do not believe with De Wette, that he means to leave the subject an utter mystery, and merely to bring man to a helpless consciousness of his ignorance. The most prominent part of the author's design is, indeed, to enforce the duty of unqualified submission to the will of God. A part of it is, also, to illustrate the truth, that moral character is not to be inferred from outward condition; that afflictions are designed as the trial of piety, and that they lead in the end to higher good than would otherwise be obtained, and thus to assert eternal providence, and justify the ways of God to man. And while he enforces the duty of

entire submission, he also plainly intimates that unfounded censures, and unkind treatment of a friend in distress, are more offensive to the Deity, than those expressions of impatience, which affliction may wring from the lips of the pious.

The author aims to show that in the distribution of good and evil in the world, God is sometimes influenced by reasons, which man can neither discover nor comprehend, and not solely by the merit or demerit of his creatures; that the righteous are often afflicted, and the wicked prospered; but that this course of providence is perfectly consistent with wisdom, justice, and goodness in the Deity, though man is unable to discern the reasons of it; that afflictions are often intended as the trials of piety, and the means of moral improvement; that man is an incompetent judge of the divine dispensations; that it is his duty, instead of rashly daring to penetrate, or to censure, the counsels of his Creator, to submit to his will, to reverence his character, and to obey his laws; and that the end will prove the wisdom as well as the obligation of such submission, reverence, and obedience.

In this view, I have taken the whole book as we now have it, to be genuine. I think this supposition is attended with the fewest difficulties. Those who discard the speech of Elihu, the twenty-eighth chapter, and part of the twenty-seventh, and the prose introduction and conclusion, must give of course an account of it somewhat different.

In order to accomplish the design, or express the views, which I have exhibited, in such a manner that his work should possess the highest interest for his readers, the author employs a form of composition resembling that of the drama. He brings forward a personage, celebrated probably in the traditions of his country, as distinguished for the excellence of his character, and the vicissitudes through which he had passed. In the delineation of the character and fortunes of this personage, he uses the liberty of a poet in stating every thing in extremes, or painting every thing in the broadest colors, that he might thus the better illustrate the moral truth, and accomplish the moral purpose, which he had in view.

He introduces to the reader an inhabitant of the land of Uz, in the northern part of Arabia, equally distinguished by his piety and his prosperity. He was pronounced by the Searcher of hearts an upright and good man; and he was surrounded by a happy family, and was the most wealthy of all the inhabitants of the East.

If virtue and piety could in any case be a security against calamity, then must Job's prosperity have been lasting. Who ever had more reason for expecting continued prosperity, the favor of men, and the smiles of providence? "But when he looked for good, evil came." A single day produces a complete reverse in his condition, and reduces him from the height of prosperity to the lowest depths of misery. He is stripped of his possessions. His children, a numerous family, for whom he had never forgotten to offer to God a morning sacrifice, are buried under the ruins of their houses, which a hurricane levels with the ground; and finally he is afflicted, in his own person, with a most loathsome and dangerous disease. Thus, the best man in the world has become the most miserable man in the world.

The reader is made acquainted in the outset with the cause of the afflictions of Job. At an assembly of the sons of God, or the inhabitants of heaven, in the presence of the governor of the world, an evil spirit, Satan, the adversary in the court of heaven, had come on his return from an excursion over the earth, to present himself, or to stand in readiness to receive the commands of God. Jehovah puts the question to Satan, whether he had taken notice of the model of human excellence exhibited in the character of his servant Job, and sets forth the praises of the good man in terms so emphatic, as to excite the envy and ill-will of that suspicious accuser of his brethren. Satan intimates that selfishness is the sole motive of Job's obedience; that it was with views of profit, and not from sentiments of reverence toward God, that he paid him an outward service; that if Jehovah should take away the possessions of him whom he believed so faithful, he would at once renounce his service. "Doth Job fear God for nought?" To establish the truth of what he had said in commendation of his servant, Jehovah is represented as giving permission to Satan, to put the piety of Job to the test, by taking away at once all his possessions, and all his children. But the evil spirit gains no triumph. Job remains true to his allegiance. He sins not even with his lips. There is yet another assembly of the heavenly spirits, and here the hateful spirit, the disbeliever in human virtue, will have it, that it is love of life, the dearest of all possessions to man, which retains Job in his allegiance. Satan therefore is represented as having permission to take from Job

all that can be called life, except the mere consciousness of existence, and the ability to express his sentiments in the condition to which he is reduced, by the infliction of a most loathsome disease. And yet this good man, in this lowest point of depression, is represented as remaining patient so long, that when his wife, whom Satan appears to have spared to him for no good purpose, tempted him to renounce his allegiance to God, he calmly answers, "Shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil?" Thus far, he did not sin with his lips.

But when the fame of Job's sufferings had spread abroad, and had drawn around him a company of his friends, who had left their distant homes to sympathize with him in his calamities, he is represented, as giving vehement utterance to his long repressed impatience, and pouring out his complaints and doubts in rash language, with which the reader is prepared to sympathize, only by the account which has been given of the cause of his afflictions in the introductory chapters.

But the friends of Job, who, of course, are not acquainted with the cause of his sufferings in the occurrences of the heavenly assembly, are thrown into amazement at the condition in which they found their friend, and the expressions uttered by him, whom they had heretofore looked upon as a wise and good man. They are silent while they witness only his dreadful sufferings; but when they hear the vehement and rash complaints, which are extorted from him by the severity of his distress, they refrain no longer from expressing their sentiments respecting the cause of the calamities of their friend. Thus commences a discussion respecting the causes of human sufferings between Job and his friends. They are represented as holding the doctrine of a strict and perfect retribution in the present life; as maintaining that misery always implies guilt; and hence, instead of bringing him comfort and consolation, they accuse him of having merited his misfortunes by secret wickedness. They exhort him to repentance, as if he were a great sinner, suffering the just punishment of his crimes.

Job repels their insinuations with indignation, and firmly maintains his innocence. He knows not why he suffers. He complains of severe treatment, and asserts that God afflicts equally the righteous and the wicked. His friends are offended at his sentiments, and undertake to vindicate the conduct of

the Deity towards him. They repeat with greater asperity their charges of wickedness and impiety, and even go so far as to accuse him of particular crimes. But the more they press their accusations, the more confident is he in his assertions of his innocence, or of the justice of his cause. He avows his conviction that God will one day manifest himself as the vindicator of his character. He appeals to him, as the witness of his sincerity; denies the constancy, and even the frequency of his judgments upon wicked men, and boldly asks for an opportunity of pleading his cause with his Creator, confident that he should be acquitted before any righteous tribunal. His friends are reduced to silence, Bildad closing their remarks by a few general maxims respecting the greatness of God and the frailty of man, and Zophar not undertaking to say any thing.

The spirit of Job is somewhat softened by their silence, and he retracts some of the sentiments, which, in the anguish of his spirit, and the heat of controversy, he had inconsiderately uttered. "He proceeds with calm confidence, like a lion among his defeated enemies." He shows that he could speak of the perfections of God, and express all that was true in their positions, in a better style than any of them. He now admits, what before he seemed to deny, that wicked men are often visited by severe punishment. But from his main position he does not retreat, that misery is not always the consequence of wickedness, and that God has a hidden wisdom in regard to the distribution of happiness and misery, which it is impossible for man to fathom. He then proceeds with a melting pathos to describe his present, in contrast with his former condition, and to give a most beautiful picture of his character and life, very pardonable in one, of whom the reader knows what has been said by the governor of the world before the angels of heaven. From this he is led to renewed protestations of his innocence, and of his desire to have his cause tried before the tribunal of his Creator.

In this stage of the discussion, a new disputant is brought forward, probably for the purpose of expressing some thoughts of the author on the design of afflictions, and for the purpose of forming a contrast in respect to style and manner, with the manifestation of the Deity which follows. Elihu is represented as a young man coming forward with an air of great consequence, though in words he ascribes the burden, with

which his breast was laboring, to the inspiration of God. "Like most inspired men of the same sort, he is assuming, bold, and supercilious." He does, indeed, bring forward some thoughts on the moral influence of afflictions, which had not been uttered by the friends of Job, maintaining that, though they may not be the punishment of past offences, nor evidence of guilt, they may operate as preventives of those sins, which the best of men sometimes commit, and as a salutary discipline, for the correction of those faults, of which a man may be unconscious, until his attention is awakened by adversity. Thus, he gives a more rational conjecture, than the three friends of Job in regard to the precise cause of his afflictions, but does not give the true account of it, as it is stated in the introductory chapters. No one thinks it worth while to reply to Elihu.

Human wisdom, the learned wisdom of age, and the unbiassed genius of youth have now been exhausted upon the subject. At length, therefore, the Supreme Being himself, is represented as speaking from the midst of a tempest, and putting an end to the controversy; the dignity of his introduction being rendered more impressive by the almost ludicrous flourishes with which Elihu had entered into the contest.*

The Creator decides the controversy in favor of Job. Jehovah does not, however, condescend to explain or vindicate to him the ways of his providence; but with overpowering force convinces him of his inability to fathom the divine counsels, produces in him a sense of his weakness and ignorance, and leads him to profound repentance on account of the rashness of his language; and thus prepares the way for the final vindication of his faithful servant. In a strain of sublime irony he requests him, who had spoken with such confidence and boldness of the ways of God, to give an explanation of some of the phenomena, which were constantly presented to his view; of the nature and structure of the earth, the sea,

* "How vast the difference," says Herder, "between the words of Jehovah, and the language of Elihu! It is but the feeble, prolix babbling of a child, in comparison with the brief and majestic tones of thunder, in which the Creator speaks. He disputes not, but produces a succession of living pictures; surrounds, astonishes, and overwhelms the faculties of Job with the objects of his inanimate and animated creation."

the light, and the animal kingdom. If he were unable to explain any of the common phenomena of nature, how could he expect to comprehend the secret counsels and moral government of the Author of Nature?

But having shown the reasonableness of entire confidence in his unsearchable wisdom, and submission to his darkest dispensations, the Supreme Judge does decide the controversy in favor of Job. He declares that he had spoken that which was right, that is, in maintaining that his misery was not the consequence of his guilt, or that character is not to be inferred from external condition; and that the friends of Job had not spoken that which was right, in condemning him as a wicked man on account of his misery, or in maintaining that suffering always implies guilt. The cause of Job's afflictions has already been communicated to the reader in the introductory chapters, namely, that they were appointed as a temporary trial of his virtue, in order to vindicate the judgment of Jehovah concerning him, and to prove against all gainsayers the disinterestedness of his piety. Finally, Jehovah bestows upon Job double the prosperity which distinguished him before his affliction, and thus compensates him for the calamities he had suffered, thereby showing for the consolation of all who endure affliction, that the end of the good man will show his wisdom.

If the general design of this wonderful production be such as I have described, the question, whether Job was a real, or a fictitious character, becomes almost too unimportant to be discussed. Truth was illustrated and duty enforced by parable as well as by history, by him, who spake as never man spake. Certainly some of the circumstances of the life of Job have the air of fiction, and may have been invented for the promotion of the moral and religious design, which we suppose the author to have had chiefly in view.

That the sentiments of Job, and of the different disputants, as well as those, which are represented as proceeding from the lips of the Creator, must all be regarded as the effusions of the poet's own mind, is also too plain to need argument. The whole structure and arrangement, thoughts and language, form and substance of the work must all have proceeded from one and the same mind.

The supposition, that so beautiful and harmonious a whole, every part of which bears the stamp of the highest genius, was the casual production of a man brought to the gates of

the grave by a loathsome disease, and of three or four friends, who had come to comfort him in his affliction, all of them expressing their thoughts in poetical and measured language; that the Deity was actually heard to speak a half an hour from the midst of a violent storm; and that the consultations in the heavenly world were actual occurrences, is too extravagant to need refutation.

On the other hand, it is against probability and against analogy, to suppose that no such person as Job ever existed, and that the work has no foundation in fact. The epic and dramatic poets, ancient and modern, have usually chosen historical rather than fictitious personages, as their principal characters, as being better adapted to secure the popular sympathy. It is therefore probable, that Job was a real character, at least in the same sense, in which the Adam and Eve of *Paradise Lost* were real characters. It is probable that tradition had handed down the name of such a person as Job, distinguished for his piety and his trials, his virtue and its reward. This tradition the author stated and embellished in a manner adapted to promote the chief object of his work.

A more important question at the present day relates to the integrity of the work; whether we have it as it came from the author, or whether various additions have been made to it in later times.

The genuineness of the introductory and concluding chapters in prose, of Ch. xxvii. 7 — Ch. xxviii. and of the speech of Elihu has been denied with great confidence, by several German critics, upon what we regard as very insufficient grounds. The latest and most important writer, who has maintained this opinion, is De Wette, a scholar of great learning and fine taste, but, as I think, not of the most exact judgment upon every subject. His valuable *Introduction to the Old Testament* having been announced as prepared for publication in this country, it may be well to examine the arguments, which he has adduced against the genuineness of the above mentioned parts of Job.

Against the prologue and epilogue he urges, "that the perfection of the work requires their rejection, because they solve the problem, which is the subject of the work, by the idea of trial and compensation; whereas it was the design of the author to solve the question through the idea of entire submission on the part of man to the wisdom and power of God."

Thus, from a part of the work, De Wette concludes what was the whole design of the author, and then rejects whatever is inconsistent with this supposed design. But there is no necessity for the supposition of such an entire unity of purpose, as De Wette supposes. Much more probable is it, that the author not only designed to establish the necessity of unhesitating faith and unwavering submission, but also to throw all the light in his power upon the subject, for the benefit of the understanding. If he has not completely solved the question, which forms the principal subject of discussion, it does not follow that he did not undertake to do it; or, at least, to remove from it all the difficulties, which he could remove. If it were even admitted, which I do not admit, that there is not a perfect consistency and unity in the views of a poet writing upon a very deep subject, he would not be the only one, who has written inconsistently on the origin and design of evil. Would it be reasonable to reject as ungentine all those parts of Soame Jenyns's work on the origin of evil, which Dr. Johnson points out as inconsistent with its main design, or with other parts of it?

Far more reasonable is it to gather the author's design from a view of the whole work; especially as there is no inconsistency in the supposition, that he endeavored to clear up the subject in view of the understanding, as well as to illustrate the necessity of the entire submission of the heart to God's will.

Besides, the prologue is important, not only as containing, in part, the solution of the subject, but as a preparation for the reader in estimating the character and language of Job. We could hardly sympathize with the imprecations, with which he commences, or with his irreverent language toward the Deity, or even with his bold assertions of his innocence, unless we were assured upon higher authority than his own, that he was, what he professed to be, an upright and good man. The whole takes a far deeper hold upon our sympathy, when we know that he, who is in a state of such extreme depression, suffering reproach and condemnation from fallible men, has a witness in heaven and a record on high, having received the praise of an upright and good man from the Searcher of Hearts before the angels in heaven.

The objection against ch. xxvii. and xxviii. is, that there is an apparent inconsistency between the language of Job here assigned to him, and what he has uttered in ch. xxi. This incon-

sistency is obvious, and was long ago observed by Kennicott. See his note on ch. xxvii. 7. And if the object of the poet was to represent merely a persevering, unbending character, like the Prometheus of Æschylus, there might be some force in the objection. But if the design of the work be, as we have represented it, to throw all possible light upon a moral subject, it is well that Job should retract what he had uttered in the heat of passion, and admit all that he could admit with truth, and in consistency with his main position, that he was innocent, or that misery is not always a proof of guilt. The great object of the poem is in fact advanced by such a course, and by Job's anticipating in some measure, in ch. xxviii., the arguments of the Supreme Judge. All that Job admits is not really inconsistent with what he says in ch. xxix. xxx. xxxi., and does not bring the subject to a crisis too soon.

In regard to the speech of Elihu, it is objected, that it differs in style from that of the other speakers; that it is weak, prolix, studied, obscure; that it is distinguished from the genuine parts of the book by the use of favorite expressions, and by reminiscences from the thoughts of some of the other speakers. That there is a difference between the language of Elihu and that of the other speakers, is conceded; but the answer is, that it was designed; that a different style was assumed by the author. There is some difference of manner in the speeches of the other adversaries of Job. It is more marked in the speech of Elihu, because he was a young man. Youthful forwardness was more inconsistent with Eastern feelings and manners, than with ours. See ch. xxix. 8. And it is not strange, that the poet should not give the most respectable appearance to a young man, appearing upon such an occasion.

It is rather evidence of skill in the poet, that he renders the sublime manifestation and language of the Deity more striking, by contrast with the flourish and parade exhibited in the manner and language of young Elihu. In regard to favorite expressions, and the reminiscences of the language of the other speakers, I should think they were circumstances of little importance. They may at any rate be the result of design, as part of the manner of Elihu, or they may be the result of inadvertence.

It is objected, secondly, that the speech of Elihu weakens the speeches of Job and of the Deity, in ch. xxix. xxx. xxxi. xxxviii., &c., obscures the relation in which these stand

to each other, and in part anticipates what that of the Deity contains. We have already replied to this in part, by the observation that the majesty of the divine appearance is heightened by contrast with that of Elihu. It may be observed, too, that all the speakers have anticipated more or less of the argument of the Deity, and could not well say any thing of the Creator, or his works, without doing it. But as a whole, the speech of the Deity is remarkably distinguished from any of them. As to the interruption of the connexion between the speech of Job and that of the Deity, it is not very important. But let it be conceded, for the sake of argument, that the omission of the speech of Elihu would contribute to the perfection of the work, or that it is in itself somewhat inferior to other parts of it. What then? Do not the critics and reviewers imagine that they can improve many of the productions of genius by the addition of a part here, or the subtraction of a part there? Besides, the author does give one view of the cause of human suffering in this discourse, which is not distinctly stated elsewhere. Ch. xxxiii. 14 - 28.

It is objected, in the next place, that Elihu perverts the language of Job, a thing which would have been done only by a person, who was not the author of the work. To this it may be replied, that, though the particular passages, which Elihu pretends to quote, are somewhat perverted, yet he hardly ascribes to Job worse sentiments than he had elsewhere expressed, as in ch. xxi. Besides, it is not unnatural in a disputant, especially a young one, to misapprehend a question, or to pervert the language of an opponent.

It is said, again, that Elihu receives no answer. I apprehend that it was agreeable to Eastern feelings, that such a forward young man should receive no answer.

It is said that Job is mentioned by name in the speech of Elihu, and not elsewhere. But surely so unimportant a circumstance, occurring in a speech where difference of manner was to be expected, affords very slight ground for suspecting its genuineness.

Lastly, it is said, Elihu is not mentioned in the prologue and epilogue. It is sufficient answer to this, to say, that the author thought it proper to have but three speakers in the principal part of the debate, and to give a special introduction to Elihu in ch. xxxii. His judgment on this point may not

have been as good as that of some of the German professors; but I see not why we should alter his plan on that account. As to the fact, that he is not mentioned in the epilogue, it may have been for the reason above assigned for his receiving no reply from Job, or because nothing occurred to the author, which was particularly appropriate to be said to him.

On the whole, if it were even admitted that the style of Elihu is so diverse from that of the rest of the poem, as to be somewhat remarkable, or not wholly explained by what has been said, yet when we consider the strong presumption that such a work as the book of Job would not be tampered with by his countrymen, and especially by a poet of no mean pretensions, I cannot help having a strong persuasion of the genuineness of all the passages under consideration. I can well conceive of additions being made to annals or history. But one would think, that a Jew, and especially a Jewish poet, must have had a stronger motive than any of which we can conceive, to induce him to tamper with such a production as the book of Job, and that there must have been some obstacles to the reception of his appendages to such a work, had he been disposed to make them.

As to the country of Job, or in other words, the scene of the poem, there has been a diversity of opinion amongst distinguished scholars. I was formerly inclined to adopt the opinion of those, who supposed it to be Idumea. I now think that Lam. iv. 21, which, at first view, seems to favor this supposition, in fact indicates that the land of Uz was not a part of Idumea, and that the prophet speaks of the Edomites as having gained possession of a country which did not belong to them. It appears to me, too, that Jer. xxv. 20, is also decisive of the question; else why does the prophet speak of the kings of the land of Uz, and of Edom, in the next verse, as separate nations, to whom he was to extend the cup of indignation?

I now think it more probable, that the land of Uz was in the northern part of Arabia Deserta, between Palestine, Idumea, and the Euphrates. Ptolemy speaks of a tribe in this region, called *Ἀισαῖται*, which may perhaps have been written *Ἀνοῖται*; (see Ros. Com. in Job, p. 30,) and the Septuagint renders Uz, *Ἀνοῖτις*. This country would then be near the Chaldeans and Sabeans, by whose incursions the property of

Job is said to have been lost. It is more properly entitled to the appellation of the East, than Idumea, which was nearly south of Palestine. The beautiful valley of Damascus, which Jahn supposes to have been the country of Job, could hardly have been so extensive, as to account for the expression, "all the kings of the land of Uz," in Jer. xxv. 20.

A more interesting question remains to be spoken of, namely, in what country, and in what age, did the author live?

I shall not enter into a discussion of the various conjectures which have been offered, in regard to the author of the book. Why should we seek to form an opinion, where there are absolutely no data on which to ground it? To me it seems highly probable that the author of this incomparable production was one, of whom we have no records and no other remains. The opinions of those, who have undertaken to name the author, are widely diverse. Lowth attributes it to Job himself; Lightfoot and others, to Elihu; some of the Rabbinical writers, as also Kennicott, Michaelis, Dathe, and Good, to Moses; Luther, Grotius, and Doederlein, to Solomon; while Warburton ascribes it to Ezra.

Respecting the age in which the author lived, it might seem at first view, that some judgment could be formed on internal grounds. But in consequence of our imperfect acquaintance with the state of civilization, knowledge, opinions, and manners in ancient times, it is difficult to form a satisfactory opinion upon the subject.

Some eminent scholars, as Lowth, Eichhorn, and Ilgen, have supposed that the author lived before the settlement of the Israelites in the land of Canaan. The principal argument in favor of this opinion is the absence of allusions to the institutions, rites, and ceremonies introduced by Moses, and to remarkable events in the history of the Jewish nation. This argument would be more satisfactory, if the characters, as well as the author, of the work, had been Hebrews. But as they were Arabians, who had nothing to do with the institutions of Moses, it is plain that a writer of genius would not have been guilty of the absurdity of putting the sentiments of a Jew into the mouth of an Arabian, at least, so far as relates to such tangible matters as institutions, positive laws, ceremonies, and history. To me it seems that the author has manifested abundant evidence of genius and skill in the

structure and execution of the work to account for his not having given to Arabians the obvious peculiarities of Hebrews, who lived under the institutions of Moses, at whatever period it may have been written. Even if the characters of the book had been Hebrews, the argument under consideration would not have been perfectly conclusive; for from the nature of the subject, we might have expected as little in it, that was Levitical or grossly Jewish, as in the book of Proverbs or Ecclesiastes. The argument for the Antemosaic origin of the book seems, therefore, wholly destitute of weight. On the contrary, we find an argument against that opinion in the abstruse nature of its subject, and its speculative and philosophical spirit, which seem to imply a different stage of civilization, and a different state of society from what we suppose to have existed among the wandering Jews, to whom Moses gave the law upon Sinai. It was agreeable to the spirit of Moses to say, Thus saith Jehovah, Ye shall do this, and ye shall not do that; and to accompany these commands and prohibitions with the most terrible sanctions, rather than to indulge in such bold speculations, as are contained in this book. A very different kind of poetry, if any, seems also to be proper to the circumstances of the Jews, in and before the age of Moses. There is more uncertainty in regard to particular religious conceptions. Those contained in the following verses are supposed by De Wette to be inconsistent with the Mosaic age: iv. 18; v. 1; xv. 15; xxi. 22; xxxiii. 23, &c.; xxxviii. 7, comp. I. 7, II. 2, &c. The manners and condition of society referred to or implied in some, at least, of the following passages, adduced by De Wette, seem to point to a much later period of Jewish history, than the Antemosaic or Mosaic age. xiii. 26; xix. 23, &c.; xxxi. 35; v. 4; xv. 28; xxiv. 12; xxix. 7; xxxix. 7; xx. 24; xxxix. 21; iii. 14, &c.; xii. 18, &c.; xx. 15; xxii. 24, &c.; xxiii. 10; xxvii. 16; xxxi. 24; xxviii.

In regard to the age of Solomon, or the period which intervenes between Solomon and the captivity, which is assigned to it by some writers, there is no very decisive objection. Even if the work is supposed to have a national object, or to have been designed for the encouragement and consolation of the Jewish people, as a nation, while in a state of calamity, there are several periods before the captivity, when such a work would have been appropriate; for instance, the period of Habakkuk, whose expostulation with the Deity, and what follows in his

prophecy, have a resemblance to the subject and sentiments of the book of Job. There is no necessity, however, for supposing the work to have a national object. If this had been the case, I think it would have been made more distinctly to appear by the author. The subject is one, which the vicissitudes of individual experience render as interesting and pertinent in the highest period of national prosperity, as at the lowest point of national depression.

There is one consideration, however, which has inclined the best Hebrew scholars of late, to assign the period of the captivity at Babylon, as the age of the author of Job, namely, the Chaldaizing character of the language; for instance ענה *to answer*, applied to one, who begins a discourse. The plural form of מלה, מלין; קרשים, *the holy ones*, applied to angels; שחר, xvi. 19; תקף, xiv. 20; xv. 24; חפץ, xxi. 21; xxii. 3; מנה, vii. 3; מה, *not*, xvi. 6; xxxi. 3; קנצי for קצי xviii. 2; חן for חן xli. 4; ש as a prefix, xix. 29, &c.; אמר, *to command*. From these and other instances, Gesenius,

De Wette, and Umbreit have referred the book of Job to the time of the captivity; a period assigned to it by Le Clerc, Warburton, Heath, Garnet, and Rabbi Jochanan among the older critics. But from the few remains of Hebrew literature that have come down to us, and our imperfect acquaintance with the history of the language, it follows, that it is by no means certain that the words and forms above-mentioned, may not have been in use in some parts of Judea before the time of the captivity. ש as a prefix occurs in the book of Judges. See vi. 17.

The introduction of Satan in the historical introduction in prose is certainly a strong argument against the high antiquity of the work. For there is no mention of such a being by the name of Satan, or any other name, in any of the Hebrew writings, composed before the exile in Babylon; and there is good reason for believing that it was from the Chaldeans that the Jews derived the conception of such a being. This argument seems to be conclusive against the high antiquity of the work. For it is hardly credible, that the Hebrews should have had the conception of an evil spirit before the time of Moses,

and that it should not once occur in the writings which preceded the exile. But it may be doubted whether this argument be conclusive against the supposition, that the book of Job was written a short time before the exile. As to the opinion of Schultens, Herder, Dathe, Eichhorn, and others, that the Satan of the book of Job was a good angel, it is now universally rejected, as untenable.

The question may be asked, whether the perfection of the work is not inconsistent with the state of Hebrew literature during the captivity. Notwithstanding the strong language of Bishop Lowth on this point, I think it may justly be inferred from the Psalms, composed during this period, that this question should be answered in the negative. See Ps. cxxxvii.

On the whole, it appears to me that there are no data, upon which one can form a very confident opinion in regard to the precise age of the book of Job. The latest period assigned for it appears to me far more probable than the earliest, and indeed the most probable; but that it may not have been written some time between the age of Solomon and the captivity, is more than any one, who has surveyed the subject carefully, will confidently assert.

One more point remains to be considered, namely, the country of the author of Job. For it has been maintained that he was not a Hebrew, but an Arabian, and that the work is a translation from the Arabic.

In opposition to this opinion, it is to be observed in the first place, that there is no external evidence in favor of it. The work is now found in Hebrew alone, in the collection of what remains of ancient Hebrew literature, a collection, which has been held sacred by the Jews, as far back as we can trace their sentiments respecting it. Nor is there any history or tradition, which intimates that the work ever existed in a different language. I doubt whether the spurious appendage to the Septuagint translation, worthless as it is, intimates, that the book was translated from the Syriac.

It is found, too, in the sacred literature of a people peculiarly proud of their religious prerogatives, and regarding with coldness, jealousy, and often with aversion and hatred, all other nations. It is extremely improbable, that any Jew would have had the inclination to transfer the production

of a heathen into the Jewish literature, or that he would have been permitted to do it.

In the next place, the work is not only in the Hebrew language, but in the best style of Hebrew composition. The parallelism is uniform and well sustained; the sentences are pointed; the style is fresh and vigorous, and bears not, in its general characteristics, the slightest mark of a translation.

In opposition, then, to the external evidence, and to the general style of the composition, what are the reasons which have induced some distinguished men in modern times to regard the work as the production of an Arabian, and as translated from the Arabic?

They are, in the first place, the words, which occur in it more frequently than in other books of the Old Testament, which are regarded as Arabic in a Hebrew dress, or which may be illustrated from the Arabic. But these words are very few in relation to the whole work, and are not the less Hebrew, because they may be illustrated from the Arabic. With the exception of the few forms which resemble the Aramæan, the book of Job is in as pure Hebrew as any other part of the Scriptures. It appears to me that the remark of Jahn is perfectly just and satisfactory in regard to this topic; "It is not at all surprising that in a lofty poem we find many of the less common words and ideas, which the Hebrew, through the poverty of its literature, has lost, while they have been preserved by the Arabic, the richest of the sister dialects."*

The other argument in support of the opinion, that an Arabian was the author of the poem, is drawn from the various allusions to Arabian manners and customs, which are scattered through it. In regard to this argument, there are two things to be observed. First, we have reason to believe that the manners of the Jews, in some parts of Palestine, very much resembled those of the Arabs. As they sprung from the same stock, why should this not be the case, except so far as the Jews were distinguished by their religious institutions?

We are apt to form our conceptions of the whole Jewish nation, from what we learn in the Scriptures of the inhabitants of cities; of Jerusalem in particular. It is to be recollected that the Hebrews were originally and "essentially a

* Jahn's Introduction, § 196.

nomadic people; their fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob had ever been so; they were emphatically Bedouins, removing with their flocks and herds from place to place, as occasion might require. In Egypt they had ever been shepherds, — their province of Goshen was adapted to pasturage, and not to tillage; and now, when they had come out into the deserts, with their flocks and herds, they were still the *nomadic* race they had ever been, — a people resembling those by whom these desert plains, and valleys, and mountains are possessed to this day.”* It is not singular that the manners of Bedouins should have been in a measure retained by those Hebrews, who dwelt out of cities.

It follows from the preceding consideration that the author of Job, having determined to make his characters Arabians, and to lay the scene of his work in Arabia, would find no difficulty in suiting the manners and sentiments of his characters, and his local allusions, to the scene which he had chosen; so that his only difficulty would be to exclude from his work obvious references to the Jewish history and religion. If, in addition to this, we suppose, what is perfectly reasonable, that the Hebrew philosopher had, like Plato, travelled into Egypt, and through Arabia, for the purpose of enriching his mind with all the knowledge of those countries, I think, we shall find no difficulty in the supposition, that a Hebrew of such genius and skill as are manifested in this work, might have been the author of it.

But this is not all. We maintain that, though Arabian manners and scenes are the superficial characteristics of the work, yet in its general spirit, and in many less obvious characteristics, the author has manifestly shown himself to be a Hebrew poet. The very subject of the work is just what might have been expected to arrest the attention of a Hebrew philosopher, educated in the religion of Moses. It is similar to that of other Hebrew compositions, as has been observed before. In fact, if we regard the spirit and scope of the work, the remark of De Wette appears not too strong, that it is Hebrew through and through.

There are also many particular sentiments, which we know to be appropriate to a Hebrew, possessing an acquaintance with the Hebrew literature and religion, which we do not

* See Biblical Repository, No. VIII. p. 737.

know to have been appropriate to an Arabian. Such are the following, which are more or less satisfactory, adduced by Rosenmüller and De Wette, which, as our article is a long one, we must trouble the reader to examine for himself. Ch. ix. 5-9; xii. 10; xv. 7; xxvi. 5, &c.; xxxviii. 4, &c.; iv. 19; x. 9; xxvii. 3; iv. 17, &c.; viii. 9; ix. 2; xiii. 26; xiv. 4; xv. 14; xxv. 4, 6; iv. 18; v. 1; xv. 15; xxi. 22; xxxviii. 7; xxxi. 26, 27; vii. 7, &c.; x. 21, &c.; xiv. 10, &c.; xvi. 22; xxx. 23; xxxviii. 17. Add to these the use of the name Jehovah in the introduction and conclusion of the work.

The following instances of resemblance to passages, in the Psalms and Proverbs, are also of weight with those, who do not believe in the high antiquity of the work. Ch. xxviii. 18, comp. Prov. viii. 11. Ch. xxviii. 18, comp. Prov. vii. 11. Ch. xxviii. 18, comp. Prov. viii. 11. Ch. xxviii. 28, comp. Prov. i. 7. Ch. xxvi. 6, comp. Prov. xv. 11. Ch. xv. 16, xxxiv. 7, comp. Prov. xxvi. 6. Ch. xiii. 5, comp. Prov. xvii. 28. Ch. xxvi. 5, comp. Prov. ii. 18, xxi. 16. Ch. xxvii. 16, &c., comp. Prov. xxviii. 8. Ch. xxii. 29, comp. Prov. xvi. 18, xviii. 12, xxix. 23. חוֹשֶׁה Ch. v. 12, vi. 13, xi. 6, xii. 16, xxvi. 3, xxx. 22, comp. Prov. ii. 7, iii. 21, viii. 14, xviii. 1. רָחַק Ch. vi. 2, xxx. 13, comp. Prov. xix. 13. תַּחְבֻּלוֹת xxxvii. 12, comp. Prov. i. 5, xi. 14, and often, Ch. xii. 21, 24, comp. Ps. cvii. 40. Ch. v. 16, xxii. 19, comp. Ps. cvii. 42.

On the whole, it appears to us, that the internal evidence alone makes it more probable that the author was a Hebrew, than that he was a foreigner; and when to this we add the external evidence in favor of this opinion, there seems to be very little room for doubt.

It may seem remarkable, that the author of a work, which, for reach of thought, richness of imagination, depth and tenderness of feeling, and skill in its plan and execution, surpasses any production of Hebrew literature, which has come down to us, should yet be unknown. But when we consider the vicissitudes through which the Jewish nation has passed, the wonder is that we retain the work itself.

“But who,” says the eloquent Herder, “shall answer our

inquiries respecting him, to whose meditations we are indebted for this ancient book, this justification of the ways of God to man, and sublime exaltation of humanity, — who has exhibited them, too, in this silent picture, in the fortunes of an humble sufferer, clothed in sackcloth, and sitting in ashes, but fired with the sublime inspirations of his own wisdom? Who shall point us to the grave of him, whose soul kindled with these divine conceptions, to whom was vouchsafed such access to the counsels of God, to angels and the souls of men, who embraced in a single glance the heavens and the earth, and who could send forth his living spirit, his poetic fire, and his human affections to all that exists, from the land of the shadow of death to the starry firmament, and beyond the stars? No cypress, flourishing in unfading green, marks the place of his rest. With his unuttered name he has consigned to oblivion all that was earthly, and, leaving his book for a memorial below, is engaged in a yet nobler song in that world, where the voice of sorrow and mourning is unheard, and where the morning stars sing together.

“Or, if he, the patient sufferer, was here the recorder of his own sufferings, and of his own triumph, of his own wisdom, first victorious in conflict, and then humbled in the dust, how blest have been his afflictions, how amply rewarded his pains! Here, in this book, full of imperishable thought, he still lives, gives utterance to the sorrows of his heart, and extends his triumph over centuries and continents. Not only, according to his wish, did he die in his nest, but a phoenix has sprung forth from his ashes, and from his odorous nest is diffused an incense, which gives, and will for ever give, reviving energy to the faint, and strength to the powerless. He has drawn down the heavens to the earth, encamped their hosts invisibly around the bed of languishing, and made the afflictions of the sufferer a spectacle to angels, has taught that God, too, looks with a watchful eye upon his creatures, and exposes them to the trial of their integrity for the maintenance of his own truth, and the promotion of his own glory. ‘Behold, we count them happy which endure. Ye have heard of the patience of Job, and have seen the end of the Lord, (the happy end which the Lord appointed for him,) that the Lord is very pitiful and of tender mercy.’”*

* Herder's *Spirit of Hebrew Poetry*, Marsh's Translation, Vol. I. p. 120.

In regard to the use of this book, it is hardly necessary, after what has been said of its character and design, to remind the reader, that the instruction which it contains is to be derived from its general spirit and design, as a whole, and not from particular verses or passages. Job was censured by the Deity for the rashness of his language, and his friends were condemned by the same unerring judge, as not having spoken that which was right. If we regard independent sentences or speeches, those uttered by the friends of Job must be regarded as more consistent with divine revelation, and more respectful to God, than much of the language of Job. It was in the application of their general maxims, that they were wrong; in endeavoring to prove by them, that Job was a bad man, because he was miserable; or, in general, that misery was a proof of guilt.

ART. III. — 1. *A Discussion of the Question, Is the Roman Catholic Religion, in any or in all its Principles or Doctrines, opposed to Civil or Religious Liberty? And of the Question, Is the Presbyterian Religion, in any or in all its Principles or Doctrines, opposed to Civil or Religious Liberty?* By the Rev. JOHN HUGHES, of the Roman Catholic Church, and the Rev. JOHN BRECKINRIDGE, of the Presbyterian Church. Philadelphia. Carey, Lea, & Blanchard. 1836.

2. *A Debate on the Roman Catholic Religion: Held in the Sycamore Street Meeting House, Cincinnati, from the 13th to the 21st of January, 1837.* Between ALEXANDER CAMPBELL of Bethany, Virginia, and the Rt. Rev. JOHN B. PURCELL, Bishop of Cincinnati. Taken down by Reporters, and revised by the Parties. Cincinnati. Stereotyped and Published by J. A. James & Co. 1837.

THE first of these controversies originated in one of the ordinary discussions before the Union Literary and Debating Institute of Philadelphia. The question at first was, Is the Roman Catholic Religion in any or all its principles or doctrines, inimical to civil or religious liberty? This question proved so in-

teresting and exciting, that after the debate had continued three evenings, during which the Rev. Messrs. Hughes, McCalla, and Breckinridge, Honorary Members of the Society, were the principal speakers, arrangements were made for a continuance of the discussion between the Rev. Messrs. Hughes and Breckinridge for six evenings. It was further agreed, that at the expiration of the six evenings, the word "Presbyterian" should be substituted for the words "Roman Catholic," and an equal portion of time should be devoted to the new question.

The debate between Messrs Campbell and Purcell sprang from some remarks on the Protestant Reformation, which Mr. Campbell made in a lecture delivered before the "Western College of Teachers," an institution like the American Institute of Instruction. Mr. Campbell said, that the Protestant Reformation was the era at which the maxim, that man is a *thinking* being, was consecrated into a rule of action, and that all the happy changes in modern society are to be attributed to the prevalence of this maxim, and that the glory of them belongs to Martin Luther more than to any other man. This statement, of course, did not strike the ears of the Catholic Bishop of Cincinnati very agreeably, nor seem true or well timed. At the close of the lecture, Bishop Purcell asked leave to comment upon the offensive remark, and on the afternoon of the next day, a discussion ensued between him and Mr. Campbell upon the effects of the Protestant Reformation. Night came before the parties were satisfied with talking, and the College wisely resolved, as they should have done before, that the debate was out of place and irrelevant to the purposes of the meeting, and that they, therefore, would have no more of it. But the parties were not satisfied, and prolonged their controversy a few evenings, after the College of Teachers had adjourned, and about three months afterwards they met by agreement to debate in full the points at issue between Catholics and Protestants.

We might well expect that the Philadelphia Discussion would be the most interesting and exemplary, since there was but a single point at issue between the parties, and moreover they had liberty to write out their speeches at leisure, and make such corrections and additions as they chose. But the book before us does not justify the expectation. The Reverend gentlemen, Messrs. Hughes and Breckinridge, have said

very little that can enlighten the community, and that little is not enough to atone for their scurrilous abuse of each other. Mr. Breckinridge, indeed, states at the close of the volume, that he feels it his duty to say publicly, that he regrets having occasionally expressed himself with improper severity towards Mr. Hughes ; but such an apology does not mend the matter much, while in the very next sentence he says, that nothing but the great interests at stake would ever have induced him to debate with Mr. Hughes, after he had discovered how reckless, and unamiable a man he was.

The arguments between Messrs Hughes and Breckinridge, upon the tendencies of Catholicism and Presbyterianism in respect to civil and religious liberty, serve little else than to confirm the familiar truth, that if we consider only the practices of the principal religious denominations in time past, we shall see almost every thing to condemn ; and if, on the other hand, we will consider only their several systems, as they exist in the minds of their most enlightened professors, we shall see almost every thing to approve. Neither of these gentlemen shows himself willing to have his own doctrines judged according to the principles by which he judges his opponent's.

Each party accuses the other of belonging to a church that has shown itself, in many a bloody persecution, the foe of civil and religious liberty, and each defends himself on the ground, that such persecutions do not spring from the doctrines of his faith, but from the violation or abuse of those doctrines by the bad passions of the times.

Mr. Breckinridge declares in the outset, that the Catholic Religion infringes on civil and religious liberty, because it requires men to submit to a religious hierarchy, and surrender the rights of conscience to an arbitrary priesthood. Mr. Hughes replies to this by declaring, that the Catholic is not forced to be such, and if he chooses to adopt the Roman faith, and submit to its discipline, he keeps his civil and religious liberty as truly, as any one does, who submits to any law. Mr. Breckinridge again insists, that Catholicism enslaves its subjects, because all, who are baptized in the Catholic church, are compelled by physical force, according to a canon of the council of Trent, to continue under its discipline. Mr. Hughes says, in reply, that the canon in question does not declare, that all baptized persons shall be compelled by force to abide in the Catholic communion, and that the nature of

the compulsion lies merely in the power of excommunicating apostates. Mr. Breckinridge again attacks the Catholic doctrine of Auricular Confession, as dangerous to liberty. Mr. Hughes declares it to be a doctrine of scripture, and a beautiful feature in the Christian system, and argues that its abuse proves nothing against its use. Mr. Breckinridge insists upon the censorship of the press, which the Catholic church assumes, as being the destruction of liberty, both in principle and practice. Mr. Hughes avows, that the freedom of the press has nothing to do with the doctrines of his church, any more than Symmes's Theory of the Poles has ; that his church has no *doctrine* on the subject ; and that, although it may have erred in its discipline sometimes by tyrannizing over the press, yet it has done much for the diffusion of knowledge, even printed eight editions of the Bible in about as many years in a single Italian city, and in the Italian tongue alone, published forty different editions of the Bible, before the first Protestant version of Geneva. He defends the right of the church to prohibit all those, who recognise its authority, from publishing improper books. Mr. Breckinridge quotes plentifully from the records of Catholic persecution and usurpation. Mr. Hughes promptly meets him with about as plentiful extracts from the history of Presbyterianism, and declares, that even allowing all his opponent says of Catholic enormities, it proves nothing against the religion itself ; for these enormities are not a part, nor a result of the *doctrines* of the church, and never have been ; and that he does not hold his faith any more responsible for them, than he holds Christianity responsible for the sins of its professors. In this way the discussion goes on in twelve long and very unsatisfactory speeches ; assertions are made and flatly contradicted, — passages are adduced from the decrees of councils and the bulls of popes, and their authenticity denied, or their alleged import disputed. The reader finds himself at the end of the debate with little to compensate him for the trouble he has taken, and the headache, which the brawl and confusion of the controversy have given him.

Nor do we derive much more satisfaction from the second part of the debate, where Mr. Hughes in turn becomes the accuser, and attacks Presbyterianism. It is amusing to observe how entirely he runs into the very fallacies, which he had so bitterly condemned in Mr. Breckinridge. He makes Presby-

terianism guilty of all the wrong its professors ever committed, and waxes quite eloquent in his detail of Presbyterian enormities. The debate on the whole is not very flattering to either of the churches, to which the gentlemen belong. Their controversy in great part seems to partake of the nature of that between the Kilkenny cats. Take these two passages as a specimen, one from each disputant.

The first is from Mr. Hughes.

"The question returns then, how can Presbyterians obey God, who *commands them* to 'REMOVE ALL FALSE WORSHIP;' and yet obey the Constitutions, which enjoin on them to *disobey God*? This is the point which I cannot get the gentleman to meet, or clear up. He says that he has answered this question before, by showing that WE (Presbyterians) mean in the CONFESSIO, NO FORCE; but *truth, moral influence, argument, the press, the Bible, &c. &c.* This is sophistry, which can deceive but few. For, the *meaning* of the 'Confession,' was determined by *those who drew it up*, nearly two hundred years ago. The object of the doctrine was to *impose* the solemn league and covenant on all men, and establish '*uniformity*' of religion throughout the three kingdoms. How? By PÉNAL LAWS, *sanc-tioning the use of every kind of punishment, from the stocks to the gallows and the block.* Its meaning has been determined by acts of Parliament, by ejecting the EPISCOPAL CLERGY from their livings, by 'REMOVING,' VIOLENTLY, every monument of *Catholic piety* from the *Episcopal Churches.* Was this '*moral influence*?' The gentleman need not tell us what '*he*' means in the confession. Its meaning was written in the blood of the Catholics, Episcopalians, Baptists, Arminians, Quakers, &c., before, long before, he was born. Its meaning is a *settled point*, a '*ruled case*;' and I am astonished that the gentleman should have exposed his knowledge of history, so far as to talk of '*moral influence*,' in connexion with the propagation of Calvinism. How was it propagated? I say BY FORCE, and I challenge contradiction. It was a tyrant from its cradle, and before it was ten years of age, it had abolished the '*mass*,' and drowned the Baptists in the same canton. How did it propagate itself, in Geneva? BY FORCE. In France? BY FORCE. In Scotland? BY FORCE. In Holland? BY FORCE. In England? BY FORCE. In Ireland? BY FORCE. How did it preach itself into political power in those countries? It began by LI-BELS, and ended by PITCHED BATTLES. The *exordium* of its sermon was *sedition*; — the *peroration*, *fixed bayonets.* Will the gentleman deny this? He need not; all this is public,

notorious, palpable matter of history. But after it had *succeeded* in establishing itself BY FORCE, did it then employ *only* 'moral influence?' In answer to this question, I refer the reader to my last speech, and he will see that it employed the influence of the block and the gibbet, for the purpose of 'REMOVING ALL FALSE WORSHIP.' The American Constitution abridged the *practical* part of the creed, on this subject. But since then, (like Samson in the recovery of his strength,) its *hair has grown out*, its locks have become thick and bushy, and, *impatient of the* 'PHILISTINES' by whom it is surrounded, it begins to FEEL that it is NOW strong enough to 'carry away the pillars' of the Constitution;—and judging by the fiery zeal of the gentleman and his colleagues, it is almost *blind* enough to make the attempt. ('*The Presbyterians alone*,' says Dr. Ely, '*could bring a half a million of voters into the field.*'")—pp. 447, 448.

Mr. Breckinridge returns this compliment in rather stronger terms than his opponent gave it.

"And now, as to the three hundred years of our *acknowledged* existence, where has *liberty* been found? where science? where enterprise, commerce, order, and public prosperity? Has it been in Italy? In Spain? In Catholic Germany? In Catholic Ireland? Has England, has Holland, has Scotland, have the United States of America, been *Catholic* since the Reformation? No! Protestant! Have these States been *Presbyterian*? In them Presbyterians have *abounded*. Have these States been famed for what was eminent in all that can bless and exalt a nation? *Confessedly foremost*! Let Mr. Hughes deny it if he can. He will not pretend to do it.

"But reverse the scene. Go to Spain now. There the *priests especially*, the *monks* and *Jesuits*, are ranged with Don Carlos against the party that is struggling for *liberty and light*. Go see the *monasteries*, how, in the judgment of the *people*, (they, too, called *Catholic*,) are demolished by *thousands* as the *sinks of corruption*, as *castles* of despotism, as the *strong holds* of priestly domination?

"Or will you survey Portugal? There you see the Pope denouncing, by a public appeal, the Reformation of *Don Pedro*, and giving the power of his arm to the monster Miguel. Hear him denounce the new government for daring to *interfere*, in its own territory, for the regulation of the priesthood!

"Go to Italy, and see the Pope a public despot, his throne resting on the *parks* of Austrian artillery; *collecting his taxes* in the name of the *fisherman*, as the successor of Peter and vicar of

Jesus; one day blessing the horses and the asses of the city in the name of the holy Trinity, to keep off evil spirits and pestilence; the next, cursing liberty in the name of God, and sending a bishop's ring to John Hughes, or a cardinal's hat to John, Bishop of Charleston." — p. 532.

The debate between Mr. Campbell and Bishop Purcell is far better in its temper, and far more instructive, than the discussion we have just reviewed, although it does not possess so much of the fierce, gladiatorial interest. Mr. Campbell undertook to establish these seven propositions.

"1. The Roman Catholic Institution, sometimes called the 'Holy, Apostolic, Catholic Church,' is not now, nor was she ever, catholic, apostolic, or holy; but is a *sect* in the fair import of that word, older than any other sect now existing, not the 'Mother and Mistress of all Churches,' but an apostacy from the only true, holy, apostolic, and Catholic Church of Christ.

"2. Her notion of apostolic succession is without any foundation in the Bible, in reason, or in fact; an imposition of the most injurious consequences, built upon unscriptural and anti-scriptural traditions, resting wholly upon the opinions of interested and fallible men.

"3. She is not uniform in her faith, or united in her members; but mutable and fallible, as any other sect of philosophy or religion, — Jewish, Turkish, or Christian, — a confederation of sects, under a politico-ecclesiastic head.

"4. She is the 'Babylon,' of John, the 'Man of Sin' of Paul, and the Empire of the 'Youngest Horn' of Daniel's Sea Monster.

"5. Her notions of purgatory, indulgences, auricular confession, remission of sins, transubstantiation, supererogation, &c., essential elements of her system, are immoral in their tendency, and injurious to the well-being of society, religious and political.

"6. Notwithstanding her pretensions to have given us the Bible, and faith in it, we are perfectly independent of her for our knowledge of that book, and its evidences of a divine original.

"7. The Roman Catholic religion, if infallible and unsusceptible of reformation, as alleged, is essentially Anti-American, being opposed to the genius of all free institutions, and positively subversive of them, opposing the general reading of the scriptures, and the diffusion of useful knowledge among the whole community, so essential to liberty and the permanency of good government." — pp. vii. viii.

Mr. Campbell is an acute logician, a good scholar, and an

accomplished debater, and, of course, he has said enough to refute the arrogant pretensions of Catholicism. Yet the Bishop gained many apparent advantages over him, and we are inclined to think, from what we saw of the public mind at the time, that he was thought by the majority to have borne the palm in the controversy, and enlisted the public sympathy in his favor. The cause of this is readily found in the disadvantages under which Mr. Campbell came to the debate. He appeared to be the assailant, although not so in reality, and therefore, gave his opponent the advantage of seeming the peaceful defender of his own faith. Mr. Campbell, moreover, was too extravagant in the propositions, which he advanced against Catholicism, and failing to substantiate some of them, he of course appeared to many to have failed in all. It would have been better for him not to have attempted to prove the Roman Catholic Church to be the "Babylon" of John, the "Man of Sin" of Paul, and the Empire of the "Youngest Horn" of Daniel's Sea Monster. He moreover allowed the Bishop to draw him away from the main question into the fields of ancient learning, and at times found himself bewildered in regions, where his opponent felt himself quite at home. Mr. Campbell's close logic did not give him much advantage over the Bishop in the eyes of the mass of the audience; for the ridicule and eloquent declamation of the Prelate went for far more with the multitude, than any strength and clearness of argument. The Bishop would reply, for instance, to an elaborate argument against the celibacy of the clergy by asking how St. Paul would have looked with a half dozen squealing little children, running after him, in his visits to the churches of Greece; and by inquiring whether, if, as his opponent declared, it were true, that a clergyman ought to be married, in order to sympathize fully with the feelings of husbands and parents, it were not on the same principle true, that he ought to remain a bachelor in order to sympathize the more fully with a numerous class of Christians, namely, the old maids, and that he ought to have a scolding wife to sympathize with a scolded husband. In this way, the Bishop often turns the laugh upon his antagonist, — sometimes, indeed, justly, as in regard to Mr. Campbell's labored argument on the Apocalypse. Oftener, however, he treats his opponent unfairly, by answering argument with empty ridicule and declamation, and by a Jesuitical quibble, evading the point at issue. All these

stratagems are apparent in reading the debate, although they were not so obvious to the hearer. If Bishop Purcell, therefore, had the advantage before the listening crowd, he must lose it before the reading public.

The utility of controversies like these is doubtful, although much may be said in their behalf. They certainly have the effect of interesting the public mind upon religious subjects. Men will be excited by a vehement debate upon a theological point, while they would nod over a dissertation, however wisely or eloquently written upon the same theme. The interest, which such disputes create, is indeed a low kind of religious interest, but it is better than none, and may lead to something higher. Some converts were made to both parties, and we hope to religion, by this discussion.

Such controversies must surely teach liberality to the religious world, if any thing can, by showing what Catholicism is, as it exists in the minds of the enlightened believers. Bishop Purcell spoke as strongly against many of the practices and doctrines, which have been ascribed to his church, as Messrs. Campbell and Breckinridge, or Dr. Brownlee himself could have done. He denies, that the Pope is infallible, except as an expounder of the essential doctrines of Christianity, and with the consent of the bishops. He says that, although a few of the Popes erred in *morals*, none of them erred in faith; and that he should not be surprised, if these bad Popes were at this moment expiating their crimes in the penal fires of hell. He denies, that the Pope claims temporal power, and that although he has in time past claimed it, he did not found the claim on a revealed doctrine of God. The Bishop moreover denies, that the Inquisition was established by the doctrines of his church, but maintains, that the church claims only spiritual power over its members, and that all resort to physical force, all the cruelties of the Inquisition were either the acts of civil governments, or else abuses of ecclesiastical *discipline*, which the *doctrines* of the church do not sanction, and for which Catholics do not hold themselves at all responsible. His defence of his church is almost entirely grounded upon the distinction between doctrine and discipline, which he constantly urges. *Discipline* constantly changes with time and occasion, he argues, but doctrines are unchanged and unchangeable. He excels many of our Protestant brethren in liberality, for he allows that many without the pale of his own Church may

be saved, and grants salvation to the true and faithful Indian, who may never have heard of Jesus.

These controversies ought to make people believe, that there is a central Christianity that is entirely beyond the reach of these strifes in the outskirts of theology. It would be well if controversialists would dispute in such temper as should teach this lesson of liberality more effectually. In this view, neither of the debates before us is unexceptionable. The parties speak as if the whole of religion depended on points of doctrine, that are to be decided by verbal disputes, and by the voice of majorities. A skeptical mind must derive much amusement from the conduct of the parties and their friends after the discussion. Mr. Campbell's friends assembled and voted, that he had gained a glorious victory for Protestantism. The Bishop's friends sent to him an elegant silver pitcher in token of his triumphant defence of the Holy Church. The Bishop replied in an arrogant letter, in which he said his antagonist repented ever meeting him, and specified twenty or thirty points, in which he had signally defeated Mr. Campbell and put him to shame. To crown the whole, Mr. Campbell publishes a pamphlet, in which he states thirty-one points, as having been established, and the enormities of Popery fully exposed. Where in the midst of such discussions shall we find that wisdom, that is hid from the wise and prudent, and revealed unto babes?

Neither these debates nor the whole crusade, which is carried on against the Roman Catholic Church have tended to injure her influence. As far as we can judge by observation, as well as reflection, all such attacks have helped Catholicism. They have roused the indifference of the Catholics themselves, and converted many nominal believers, who went to church merely to accompany their wives, into ardent champions of the faith. They have also shown the people, what was before unknown, that there is a rational side even to Popery, and that it can be defended, almost, if not quite as well, as some other hierarchies in our land, that look on Roman pretensions with pious horror. These attacks, moreover, make Catholicism conspicuous, and give it opportunity to work on the superstitions of the multitude. In the tone of certainty, which the Catholic uses, there is a charm and authority, which addresses itself with great power to the credulity and latent superstition of the human heart. In listening to the Bishop

of Cincinnati, we felt an influence from the undoubting tone of the eloquent champion of Mother Church, which all of his opponent's logic was hardly able to resist. It is generally the case that the greatest dogmatist finds the most followers, — he, who is most firm in his own convictions and assertions, is surest of convincing others.

There is, however, a tone of charity and toleration, which has more power against Catholic domination, than any abuse or narrow dogmatism can have. If, instead, of attacking the Catholics we allow them to walk their own way, and give them quietly a place among other denominations of Christendom, we take away from them the plea of injured rights, with which they so enlist the public sympathies, and we moreover thus diffuse a broad Christian spirit, which is entirely at war with all ecclesiastical usurpation. Many, indeed, think, that the mild toleration, with which so many regard Catholicism in our country, is opening the way for her domination. But it is quite the reverse. She has no greater enemy to her tyranny, than the spirit of universal charity, which is willing to see good in all forms of religion. Dr. Channing's truly Catholic Letter on Romanism has done more to undermine the Papal power in the West, than all the dogmatism and calumnies of Beecher, Brownlee, and the whole school of Anti-Popery plotters. The Catholics are well aware of this, and while they cannot but admire Dr. Channing's spirit, have in all their journals denounced the doctrines of his letter in the strongest terms. They well know that such liberal views must, if suffered to prevail, be the death of Roman exclusiveness.

This leads us to remark, in closing this hasty notice, that neither of the champions of Protestantism in these two debates seems happily chosen. A successful champion against Romanism should be either an Episcopalian or a Unitarian. — Either an Episcopalian, and able to meet the Catholic on his own ground, and be able to do battle on the nice points of patristical learning, — or else a Unitarian, and able to drive the Catholic off his ground among the dusty folios of the Fathers, and to base Christian freedom on the inalienable rights of man and the eternal truth as it is in Jesus. Neither Mr. Breckinridge nor Mr. Campbell seem much at home in the fields of ancient learning, and thus give their opponents great advantages. Mr. Breckinridge, moreover, cannot well show the

absurdity of transubstantiation, as long as he maintains the trinity, and allows his antagonist to defend the former, by the analogy of the latter. Mr. Campbell cannot refute the claims of Catholicism to be the only true church, as long as he has no better answer than what he gives to the Bishop's question, If the Roman Catholic was not the true church, what was the true church before the Protestant Reformation? Instead of looking for the true church among all faithful followers of Jesus in all communions, he enters into a long argument to prove that the Cathari, or Novatians, or Donatists, or Paulicians, or Waldenses, as they were successively called, were the true body of the faithful, the real church of Christ. Mr. Campbell we hoped was too liberal a man to resort to such expedients, and too wise a man to allow his opponent to bewilder him by voluntarily resting his argument on some vague and disputed passages in ecclesiastical history. A better reply to the Bishop's question might be found in the answer which the celebrated Fox made to one, who proposed a similar question. "If you deny the claims of Catholicism, where then was the true church, before the Reformation?" "Where was your face this morning before it was washed?" was the witty reply.

From a year's observation in the West, we are not led to think, that Catholicism is making any alarming progress in the Great Valley. Nearly all the additions to their numbers are made by immigration from abroad. Popery will die of itself, if bigots can be content to leave it to itself, and cease to provoke its energies, and to enlist the public sympathy in its behalf, by their virulent attacks.

S. O.

ART. IV.—THE WORD: OR AN EXPOSITION OF THE
PROEM OF THE GOSPEL OF JOHN.

THE "Word" is here used in a sense far removed from its common import as an element of articulate speech. In the exalted significance given to it by John, it has no place among our habitual associations. It presents itself to us as a

mere arbitrary sound, without a popular meaning. It is no wonder, therefore, that we should find some difficulty in drawing forth the idea wrapped up in it. And yet we think that the ordinary signification of the term may help us to conceive how it obtained its peculiar force in Hebrew usage. We may see the germ of the idea in the earliest account of the creation. As a human being thinks in language, and gives utterance to his will or purpose in audible speech, so the speaking of God was naturally regarded as the putting forth of his power. It was the expression of an omnipotent will. "And God *said*, light be, and light was." "He spake, and it was done; he commanded, and it stood fast."

It is not necessary to conceive of his command as audibly pronounced; for with him, thought is power; to will is to do; to determine is to execute. Yet, notwithstanding, we may have this more philosophical conception of spiritual power, it seems natural enough for men, in the infancy of human language, to represent the Maker as clothing his purposes with speech. Accordingly, almost every thing is said to be done by the Word; and its significance is often the same with that of hand, or power, or spirit. "By the *Word* of the Lord were the Heavens made, and the whole host of them by the breath (spirit) of his mouth."

If we should apply the same term to a human being, we should say that his Word is his spirit, his character, his internal self. Whenever the Deity expresses himself in any mode of action, his Word appears. The manifested Word then is a bodying forth, in some intelligible form, of a portion of God's self. The Word is that portion of the divine nature which is thus bodied forth. The Invisible has placed himself in a condition to be known; he has sent forth a spirit-form. It is the only way in which he is known, or can be, by his finite creatures.

We have for a long time been dissatisfied with the polemical methods of treating this subject. We believe it may be made more intelligible than it is to most minds by a free and simple paraphrase of some verses in the beginning of St. John's Gospel. We have only to disengage it from ancient learning and modern controversy; and look at it as it stands in the page of the sacred writer, apart from all those systems of human thought into which it has been forced.

"*In the beginning was the Word.*" Before creation ex-
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isted, — before there was any working of Divine Power and Intelligence, the Word was. It was not made, but the Maker of all things that afterwards had being. It was not finite, but infinite, — not effect, but cause. It was the incomprehensible, mysterious, all-pervading essence, cause of all causes, source of all being, and life, and power, dwelling alone in eternity, — the Divine Self. This was no other than the Infinite Mind, uncreated, self-existent, eternal, — the Word."

"*And the Word was with God.*" The morning stars had not yet sung together, nor the sons of God shouted for joy, at creation's birth. There was nothing but God in His wide domain. Nature was unborn. No sun, nor moon, nor stars were hung up in the silent firmament. No light was yet in the dark, unfathomable all, — save the mysterious glory of the Divine Presence. Then the Word was with God, for it had not gone forth in producing power. He had made no image of himself in the universe. His uncreated wisdom and energy were hidden and inactive in his own being. No thought or power of the Divine Mind had been manifested. No spirit-form had appeared. "*The Word was with God.*"

"*And the Word was God.*" It was himself, — his spirit, — his mind. The Infinite One was alone. No idea or form of his being, had been embodied into a separate existence. All finite things, not yet formed into creations, existed only in his thoughts. There was but one being in the boundless vast, and that was God. He was not yet the *Father*; for he had produced no image of himself. He had not given utterance or expression in any mode to his solitary thoughts. The Word then was his everliving self, — the unmanifested God, — not another being or production of his power; and so it was through the eternal, incomprehensible past, until thought expressed itself in action, and creation appeared. The Word began then to be manifested.

"*All things were made by it, and without it, was not any thing made that was made.*" The Divine Mind conceived within itself manifold forms of things yet unproduced. Thoughts embodied themselves into shapes and appeared. The cause produced effects. Substance exhibited itself in phenomena. Nature was born, with an everliving, ever-working energy, "weaving for God the garment thou seest

him by." The wisdom, power, and love of the Divinity, gave birth and form to the magnificent creation. The stars looked out as eyes of God from the serene heavens; the mountains were brought forth; the hills were made; the wide and deep sea rolled upon the solid earth, the product was the manifested Word. Every created thing was an image of some conception in the Divine Mind, as a marble block, under the cunning hand of the statuary, reveals his ideal forms of beauty and grace.

All successive productions were so many apparitions of the Creator. Images of his thoughts they were, pictured on the frame work of the Universe he had made, — living, moving, and being in him, the all-producing all-sustaining One; for every finite creature is a figure woven upon the ground work of the Immeasurable All. Every product of his handiwork was the expression of a spiritual idea. So that we may conceive of the universe as composed of the thoughts of God, carried into activity and embodied in the forms of divine art. Creation was the Art of God, in which he made his first manifestations.

But there were other and nobler manifestations, which reveal his moral nature and perfections. He made man in his own likeness, — a spiritual offspring of his mind, with spiritual forces and perceptions. Whatever in human nature bears any resemblance to the Divine, is a showing forth of God. Spirit, life, power, intelligence, goodness, love, — all that is capable of becoming great or Godlike in the human soul, is a revealing of the Divine Mind, or Word. Every conception of the beautiful, the good, the true, or the perfect, is the offspring of the Infinite One, in which he has reproduced some finite image of himself. And so the Great Spirit of the universe became the Father, when he had made beings in his likeness, who could revere, and worship, and love, and obey him.

"In the Word was life, and the life was the light of men." The author of all being was also the source of life and intelligence. "The Lord God formed man out of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul." "The Father hath life in himself." "In him we live, and move, and have our being." From him also, we have free force, activity, and intelligence. That living and working mind, which is the offspring of the

Highest, is but a ray of light from the inexhaustible fountain of light. "There is a spirit in man, and the inspiration of the Almighty hath given him understanding."

"*That was the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.*" The uncreated mind was no longer alone in the universe, for he had surrounded himself with other minds, and made them partakers of his own nature. They were to be moral manifestations of himself; and he preadapted them to their great mission. He wrought into the texture of their original constitution, the fundamental elements of a moral character. He gave them the faculty of moral discrimination, a taste for the true, the beautiful, and good, and the power of choice. This inwrought, unwritten revelation, is the necessary condition of religious life. It is the indwelling Word, "which," says the apostle, "is the true light which lighteth every man, that cometh into the world." It is a portion of the uncreated reason, "which from the beginning was with God and was God." Thus the finite is pervaded and inspired by the Infinite. Humanity even in its lowest state was never without some revelation of the Father, — some inspiration of wisdom and truth. And this divine element is that which makes us moral beings, subject to law and accountable to authority.

But we must *have* a law, and *know* an authority. The spiritual faculties are blind. They qualify us to believe in spiritual truths, but they do not inform us what to believe. We need divine teaching; we need communings with a higher wisdom. Accordingly, when children of God with immortal capacities and destinies appeared on earth, new manifestations of the Father were made for their sake. They were already placed in communication with the outward universe, to be educated by the senses on that side of their being. They had bread for the support of animal life; "but they could not live by bread alone." They were spirits, and must have something for the nourishing of spiritual life. They were immortal, and must be sustained by immortal food. They were children, whose peculiar glory and happiness were to consist in reverence, and worship, and love of the Father, and they needed to know him better than the visible universe declared him. They were moral beings, designed for the discipline of sore trial, and wrestling passion, and the fire baptism of sorrow, and the victory of faith, and goodness and

self-sacrifice. Accordingly, he gave them instruction and law. The divine Word was put forth in a new kind of utterance. It became articulate speech adapted to the comprehension and use of men. He spoke to them by intelligible signs, and by living voices. His inspiration gave wisdom to the wise, to law its sanction, to virtue its hope. Every communication of spiritual truth was a new image of his thoughts, revealing more of his paternal character. And every revelation, by whatever messenger it was sent forth, was a manifested Word. Thus there were many imperfect Words, each showing forth but a portion of the Infinite Mind. "At sundry times, and in divers manners he spake to the fathers by the prophets." And through the inanimate symbols of his presence in the holy of holies, his Word appeared.

And yet the Father was but imperfectly known to his children. They needed a more vivid apprehension of Infinite goodness and paternal love; and a holier, more powerful, and more trusting faith, which should reveal the spiritual world to their souls, as a present and felt reality. They wanted a deeper insight into the mysteries of their own being and destiny. Then,

"*The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us.*" The fullness of time was come for the final dispensation of pardon, and life, and God's mercy and infinite love. The Messiah appeared. The Word was incarnate. In one sublime specimen of perfect humanity, God had a representative of himself; and the manifestation of the Father was finished. Through the man Jesus, the Eternal Spirit was revealed as he had never been before. For "to him God gave his spirit (word) not by measure."

And here, perhaps, we may find the broadest distinction we are capable of perceiving between the inspiration of Christ and all other inspirations. We conceive of all spirits as of one species, differing from each other in power, wisdom, and holiness, from the lowest finite intelligence, up to the Infinite, but still having a common nature. We see not in the Christ, therefore, another nature, with which we could have but an imperfect sympathy; he owns his kindred, — he belongs to our family. Though raised unspeakably above us by his divine office, and his divine virtues, he differs not in kind, but in degree from those "whom he is not ashamed to call his brethren." And the word of truth, — the fountain of spiritual

wisdom, and light to him, and to us,—is one, everlasting, unchangeable. But from the beginning, it had been communicated partially and in fragments, until, “that which is perfect had come, and that which is in part was done away.” Christ is the revelation of the perfect. He bodied forth the idea of humanity as it existed pure and holy in the mind of God before man was. And the Son of Man was also the manifestation of the Father, for he represented man in his purity, as he was made in the divine likeness and Godlike. In him the image of God revealed itself unbroken, undefaced in its original and glorious beauty. Other men have possessed the mind of God in part and imperfectly; but “in him dwelt the fullness of the Godhead bodily.” The Word filled and inspired all his faculties and affections, and was coextensive with his whole being. It was the central light of his mind, the moving principle of his life, and the supreme law to which his whole nature was obedient. He had no error, or sin, or selfishness; no passion could obtain dominion over him; no temptation could divert him from his righteous purpose; for in him all that was human and personal was completely subordinate to the divine. The individual will was wholly subject to the universal reason, or eternal Word. And so “God was manifest in the flesh.” He was revealed to his children through a brother of their own race. And as the representative of the Father, he spoke to them in tones of profoundest sympathy; and lived, and acted, and taught, and died among them in overflowing love of humankind. His affections and virtues were his own, natural, simple,—human without human infirmity. But his wisdom and power were supernatural, miraculous, the revealing of the indwelling God. His inspired wisdom was the utterance of God’s mind. It was the Word of eternal truth which sends its quickening and sanctifying energy through the human spirit, and forms it in the likeness of the divine. His supernatural deeds were the working of God’s power,—the same power “by which all things were made, and without which was not any thing made that was made.” He was the incarnate Word.

This paraphrase gives us an outline of the history of the Word, which, “in the beginning was with God, and was God.” It is that which is put forth in every indication of supreme power and goodness. It is that which is revealed in every divine thought, which was carried out into activity, and im-

pressed an image of itself upon the universe. And it was the same Word that spoke through many ages, and in many voices of inspired wisdom and truth, warning, teaching, and turning men to righteousness and true spiritual worship. That same "Word became flesh and dwelt among us," revealing God's will and purposes of love, grace, and redemption to souls that sin has darkened and ruined. That same Word comes into the very depths of our souls with a quickening force, opening the dark chambers of iniquity within, to the light of God's truth, and offering peace, and spiritual freedom, and life.

The Messiah is the last and complete manifestation of the Word. No fuller or clearer revelation of God is possible to us in this stage of our being; "for it pleased the Father that in him should all fullness dwell." Long and earnest must be our spiritual endeavors, and deep our experience, before we can exhaust that fullness. More, much more of the Divinity is manifested in Christ, than we have understood or felt. We strive to lift ourselves up to the contemplation of a divine humanity, which overgoes all finite conceptions of excellence. Our souls may expand, and grow in knowledge and holiness for centuries, before we can comprehend the height, and depth, and riches of this perfect manifestation of the Father in the perfect Son.

But clear as this manifestation is, it may be all in vain to us. For if the very spirit of Christ is not in our hearts, dwelling there as a reality, a power and a living presence, he is not truly revealed to us. We are yet strangers to him. We know nothing of the divine beauty and power of his religion from our consciousness and experience. We are dwelling among dead and cold traditions, instead of living and quickening realities. We have never comprehended and lovingly embraced his sublime moral idea and made it the central principle of a holy life. There are conditions to be fulfilled on our part. There must be not only the Divine Teacher, but a ready pupil of the heavenly wisdom. All effectual influence is the flowing in of spiritual forces upon the willing soul. "To as many as believed on him, to them he gave power to become sons of God." These "have received with meekness the engrafted word, which is able to save their souls,"—into the depths of their hearts have they received it, and made it a part of their own being and life.

And having so received Christ, as a revelation of spiritual power and law, with fervent love, and trusting faith, his moral image is reproduced in themselves. So every true believer has an indwelling Word, which, being manifest in his dutiful and earnest life, shows his divine parentage.

In the foregoing account of the Word, one topic has been brought into view, which requires more illustration than could then be given it, without breaking the continuity of thought. We said that the divine Word, or Infinite, universal reason, "was the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." Wherever there has been a mind, there has been a law of the mind. "They who have not the law," St. Paul said, "are a law unto themselves; their conscience bearing them witness, and their thoughts meanwhile accusing or excusing one another." When God made a moral being, he placed a judgment seat in his breast, and the judgment is forever going on.

All living creatures have faculties wonderfully adapted to their preordained way of life. The patient camel, — the ship of the desert, as he has been called, — whose lot it is to travel over burning wastes, where no water is found, and no green thing grows, has the power of living many days without food or drink. The fierce beast of prey, — the terror of the forest tribes, — is furnished with strong and sharp weapons to seize, and hold, and tear in pieces his living and struggling victims. We look with wonder upon the little bee, whose instincts direct him, without teaching of schoolmaster, to construct his convenient cells with the accuracy of a Divine geometry! And while all humbler creatures have their fine adaptations to their special modes of being and enjoyment, we could not easily suppose that God would leave his rational children worse provided for. We too have our peculiar destiny to which he has preadapted our capacities. As we are made for working upon the earth, — the cradle and nursery of our being, — we have eyes to see by the light that shines upon it, and hands for labor, and feet for motion. But we are made, also, for an invisible world, and an immortal life; and, accordingly, we have faculties to bring us into communication with the unseen and the future.

If we had no capacity to apprehend the invisible and spiritual, we should be as ill-fitted to work out the great re-

sult of life, as an ant to live without instincts, or an eagle without wings. There are spiritual truths which derive their evidence and power from within a man's own soul; and *there* must be the original capacity to discern and feel them. When he becomes somewhat acquainted with his own spiritual nature and wants, he hears a voice speaking to him from the depths of his being, and confirming God's revelations of the invisible. When truth presents itself to his mind, in its glorious beauty, it is seen by its own light to be holy and divine; and it is welcomed by a faith which comes not so much from logic, as from intuition,—not so much from the understanding, as from the heart.

There are fundamental faculties of the soul, without which no revelation and no religion could be possible. Every manifestation of God to men presupposes the existence of a capacity to perceive it. In vain would the sun shine upon us from the bosom of the heavens, if we had no organs for its light, or sensibility to its warmth. And equally vain would be the shining of the Son of Righteousness, if we had been gifted with no discernment of spiritual beauty and truth. The different feelings awakened in us by the perception of moral good and evil are not the result, but the foundation of religious culture. Education does not create,—it only develops our spiritual nature. The knowledge is imparted, but the discriminating spirit is inborn. We are not educated, but *made* to distinguish sweet from sour, beauty from ugliness, and good from bad. And our preferences follow our perceptions, whenever there are no disturbing forces.

Accordingly, the broad distinction between right and wrong is no where laid down and defined, save in the structure of the soul itself. All divine teaching takes for granted the faculty of moral discrimination among the fundamental principles of our nature. God speaks in his works and by his word; but to whom does he speak? To an intelligent being, certainly, who is capable of understanding the terms and spirit of the communication; and “judging of himself what is right.” He does not explain what is just and what is unjust, what is holy and what is unholy; but he appeals directly to our inborn moral consciousness, without which we should not be men, nor accountable. He does not send the truth into a dark cavern where no eye could read it; but into the chambers of the soul which he originally illuminated by “the light which lighteth every man

that cometh into the world." He sends it into minds, to which he had given a portion of the infinite reason, by which its excellence and divine beauty are intuitively discerned. It is only by this indwelling light, this inwrought revelation of God through the faculties of the soul itself, that any spiritual communication can reach us.

The inward, unwritten law of the mind then, is the primary revelation; and the condition of all other revelations. It is the light, not of a chosen few, under peculiar circumstances, but of "every man that cometh into the world." Inasmuch as we are moral beings, the offspring of the Infinite Spirit, we have the power of knowing good and evil, and of choosing between them as good and evil. It is utterly impossible for us to conceive of robbery, ingratitude, and murder, as being, under any circumstances, objects of moral approbation. In no conceivable state of society could a sane individual be found, who does not regard truth, mercy, and fidelity as right; and falsehood, treachery, and cruelty as wrong, — morally wrong, — wicked, not merely hurtful. And this sensibility to the good and the bad is not the product of education, but antecedent to it; no false training can wholly do it away. Every mind has its spiritual law, asserting with more or less force its rightful supremacy, even where it is not obeyed. And this law is recognised to be holy and divine; the human will may refuse allegiance to it, but the mind still acknowledges that allegiance is due. The wild savage, in the rudest form of forest life, perceives something which ought to be done, and something which ought not to be done. We believe that there is no human language, in which a deep significance is not given to some word equivalent to *ought*.

Here, then, in the universal heart of mankind, — among the profoundest elements of all moral being, we may see gleams of that divine "light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." And it is this light, from the uncreated fountain of wisdom, that makes man in the likeness of the Father. It is in this inborn capacity to receive his instructions with intelligence, and sympathy, and love, that we discern the signatures of God written upon humanity, and by this original gift has he qualified us to receive new and clearer communications from himself. In proportion as the spiritual faculties are developed into a right activity and aim, do we become, in

the words of an apostle, "partakers of the Divine Nature." It is not a mere form of words that we use, when we say that men are children of God. There is a glorious significance in the words. They mean that mind is the offspring of mind, and that the parentage of the children may be traced by the lineaments of the Father, — that he reproduced his image in them, by giving them a portion of his uncreated reason.

This original inspiration is not to be regarded as the only, or the greatest revelation. It is no more than the condition by which other revelations are possible. It is the faculty without which we could not be religious beings, worshipping the Great Spirit, and looking for the blessedness of an unseen and far off spiritual future. This is the interior light by which the soul sees its invisible objects of faith, hope, and love. Without it, we should grope blindly in a universe filled and rejoicing with manifestations of God's presence and glory, and all would be cold, dark, and chaotic, as our own minds.

It may be necessary to repeat distinctly, that this universal light or Divine Word, which God has imparted to all moral beings, is not religion; but the foundation, the possibility of religion. It is the power of discerning and choosing between good and evil; and of receiving with intelligence, and faith, and love, and obedience, such further revelations of truth and duty, as the Father is pleased to make. This finite portion of the divine reason is infallible within its own finite sphere of activity. It will never mislead us if we follow it steadily. It is not *our* reason or *your* reason, not *human* reason even, of which we speak; but the *universal reason*, or "Word which in the beginning was with God and was God;" and which is communicated with measure, and limit, to all finite minds. It is the light of the universe by which spiritual realities are discernible. If we walk in this light, we obey the law of the mind, and the law of God, — not a law of our choice and making.

It may be asked, then, whence come error and sin, if God has written an infallible rule of right on every human soul? The question is pertinent, and must be answered. "The light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehendeth it not." It falls among the mists of earthly passion, and is seen only in dim and disastrous eclipse. Error and sin spring not from the universal reason, but from our individual personality, — the freedom of our will, — from that internal force, by

which God has made us capable of controlling our thoughts, and directing our activity. The divine element is not the whole of humanity. There is a part which is of the earth, earthy. We have passions and desires which hinder the operation of the higher reason, and set at nought our moral intuitions. Within the ordained sphere of our activity, we are as free as the God who made us. We *can* follow a perverse will and do wrong; and we do it. But we do not approve it; we put in some plea for ourselves at the bar of conscience. We are free to shut our eyes upon the light and "walk in darkness, because our deeds are evil." We may obey self-love, more than reason; we may love a flattering error, more than a stern and heart-searching truth; we may prefer gain to godliness, and sensual pleasure to immortal good; we may care more for earth than for heaven, and the infinite well-being of our souls.

All this we may do by the free force of a will which refuses the universal reason its rightful supremacy. And hence come the manifold forms of sin and error, which hide and disfigure the divine image, by which we are marked as God's children. There is often a fierce struggle between the earthly and divine elements of which we are compounded. "The law in the members wars against the law of the mind." This personal force, this freedom of will opposing itself desperately against the teaching of God, will account for all human misdoing.

Nor have we said any thing inconsistent with the assertion that the divine reason, originally communicated to us, is infallible within the natural sphere of its judgments. We may disregard it, its voice may be stifled, and its decisions disturbed by the agitation and uproar of fierce passions, and clamorous inrerests. But such is the condition of all spiritual power and excellence; they can be obtained only through the strife of antagonist principles. There is a warfare within; we are made for spiritual conflict; great is the joy, and glorious the crown of victory.

We cannot close this article, without noticing the very important bearing of the principle we have endeavored to illustrate upon the evidence of the Christian Revelation. Spiritual truths are spiritually discerned. There must be something within us by which we may apprehend and measure what comes from without. No new truth can take its place

in the mind, unless it approves itself to something already there, and makes harmony with it. The Christian revelation could never have been made to men, had not men been "pre-configured to its influence." Every teaching of a higher wisdom, every hitherto unknown or unfelt spiritual truth, would come to us in vain, unless it found answering sympathies within, and some affinity with our previous thoughts and affections.

By pursuing this line of thought somewhat farther than our limits will allow, we shall arrive at a philosophy of revealed religion, by which we may *know* that the mission of Christ was divine, and his doctrine true. We may know it, because we see not only the handiwork of God in his miracles; but the mind of God in his teaching. All he taught was in perfect harmony with the Word which reveals itself in the moral nature of "every man that cometh into the world." It was holy, divine, Godlike. "They who do his will, shall know of the doctrine, that it is of God." They know it by their living experience and consciousness. They enter into the feelings of the loved disciple, when he declared, "We beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth." Yes, full of grace and truth! For they discerned the moral features of the Divinity. In that meek and suffering man, they saw the most luminous manifestation of the Father's moral perfections. All who loved the truth, owned his divine authority. Every true man becomes subject to him as a spiritual king whose reign is over the heart and mind. There is internal evidence of his heavenly mission which cannot be gainsayed. In receiving Christ as our master and teacher, we yield to a twofold authority; first, to the unwritten Word which God originally imparted to every rational soul; and next, to the same Word, uttered in more distinct and audible tones by his perfect representative. These two modes of revelation mutually confirm each other. Every truth which approves itself to our hearts, claims our faith, and binds us to our duty by the authority of this twofold revelation. The spiritual faculty within bears witness to the truth revealed from without. God speaks to us in manifold voices of wisdom and warning; and his universal reason within us, if we reverently listen, will echo these voices with convincing power.

ART. V.—THE DOCTRINE OF THE UNIFORMITY OF
CAUSATION NOT INCOMPATIBLE WITH A BELIEF IN
MIRACLES.

IN a note to a discourse on miracles, inserted in the *Christian Examiner*, for September 1836, reference is made to an essay, published some years since, on "The Fundamental Principle of all Evidence and Expectation;"—a paper written by a Mr. Bailey of Sheffield, England, and published in connexion with essays on "The Pursuit of Truth," and "The Progress of Knowledge." It is of this essay, and its bearing on miracles, that we wish to speak.

The essay is written with great clearness, and makes what is commonly a dark subject beam with light; but the writer stops short of the application of his argument to the credibility of miracles,—just short of it, leaving us to grope for the truth on that point, not only in the same shadows as before, but under the belief that we still see as clearly, as when he made our path plain. The result has been that many have been satisfied by his essay, that no evidence can prove a miracle, though he neither, in terms, says this, nor lays down principles that fairly lead to such a conclusion. Whether Mr. Bailey disbelieves Christianity, and framed his argument with a view to act upon the faith of others, we have no means of knowing; but certain it is, that it has so acted, and shaken the trust of not a few, not by its logic, but by leaving the subject at that point where we are led to apply its logic illogically. Even in the note referred to, the essay is spoken of as intended to prove the impossibility of miracles, though the word "miracle" is not used by the writer at all.

The main idea of the essay is, that we instinctively, and always believe, that like causes will produce like effects: this, it is argued, is always assumed in our reasonings, both on physical and moral subjects. When we doubt what may be the result of any act, it is not because we doubt that the same results will follow from those causes which we see at work, that have followed them heretofore, but it is because we think other causes may be operating upon the subject-matter.

And this belief is not the result of argument, it precedes, and is the ground of argument; nor is it the result of experience; experience we go to, to learn what the effect is which

follows any cause, but our faith, that this will always follow, is as firm, if we learn it from the experience of an hour, as if we spent a life-time in learning it.

This belief applies both to the future and the past. But we must discriminate clearly; the belief spoken of, does not teach that because the sun has risen and set regularly, as far as our experience and all history tells us, therefore, it *always* has done, and will do so; but it teaches that the causes which now produce the phenomena of morning and evening, always have produced them when in operation, and always will produce them so long as they continue to operate. But as there is nothing which prevents our believing these causes, (that is, the motion of the earth, &c.,) to be the results of other causes, so we may believe that there was a time when the sun did not rise or set. On the same ground, the instinctive belief referred to does not forbid our faith in the creation of the world, though another article of instinctive faith, to wit, that every effect must have a cause, leads us, and has led all men, to refer its creation to a preëxistent Being.

This principle, that like effects will produce like causes, is also, as our author argues, the basis of evidence. We learn from experience, that, as men are made, they speak the truth, unless led by habit, temptation, or other cause to lie; we find those most trustworthy, who state facts to their own injury, but for the good of others, whose characters are high, whose conduct is fair and frank, and who lay themselves open to detection, if they misstate; these and various other marks of good witnesses we learn from experience; but having learnt them, apply them, under our instinctive belief as to causation, to all cases. But it is clear, that as regards the causes which will act upon any human mind, we must be much in the dark, and though our faith in the results of those causes, which we see at work, will not be shaken, yet there is always a chance that other and stronger causes are acting which will neutralize those that are visible. If, then, at any time, testimony is brought forward to prove some new phenomenon at variance with all previous experience, we have first to ask, whether it seeks to prove that a cause has produced an effect, different from that hitherto produced; if it does, we must logically, reject the proof, for it would destroy itself; and, in point of fact, we should reject it, because such is our instinct. But it

does not, necessarily, seek to do this, for there is always the same chance that some unseen cause may modify the physical effect, as that some unknown motive may affect the evidence. For instance, a coal placed upon the naked skin of the tongue, burns it; we learn this effect to follow that cause from experience. Once learnt, we believe it will always follow, and no proof could make us believe that, all things being the same, it did not, in some particular case; but evidence can, and does lead us to believe, that some new and counteracting cause may come in, unknown to us, and prevent the tongue from being burned by the coal: the evidence of our eyes, which see the fire-eater, or the evidence of a friend that has seen him, satisfies us. It is not true, then, as Mr. Bailey states, that it follows from the belief in constant causation, that no possible evidence can make us believe that a piece of ice was exposed to a temperature of 200° for an hour, without melting; if we saw it, we should believe it, nor yet doubt at all that like effects followed like causes; for we should certainly think some new cause at work; and if our senses can satisfy us of this, the evidence of others can. And this, as we think Mr. B. must have seen, makes the principle of constant causation of no effect, as regards miracles. We think he was aware of this; for here it is, that he has left the subject, after suggesting the likelihood of new, but unknown causes or motives coming in to affect evidence, but leaving entirely out of view, that strong evidence to a seemingly new effect following a well-known cause, makes it quite as probable that a new and unseen cause is producing the new effect, as that a new and unseen motive is affecting the testimony.

Let this be applied to miracles; no one ever supposed the miraculous effect to result from the old causes alone, but from a new, and, to us, mysterious cause. When the water changes to wine, no one supposes either the speaking of the words, the filling of the vessels, or the drawing from them, to have been the cause of the change; from these causes, the same effects followed as ever; the servants did the bidding of Jesus as told by his mother to do; the jars were filled with liquid, and the liquid in them flowed out again; but from a new cause followed a new effect. And in every miracle a new power, unknown to common experience, comes in as a new cause to produce new consequences.

The true philosophical course, then, under the principle of

constant causation, is, when evidence is offered of a miracle or a new phenomenon, (such as Jane Ryder's power of seeing in the dark, &c.,) to ask whether there is most reason to think a new cause acting on the witness sufficient to produce mistake or falsehood, or a new cause acting on the subject-matter, as to which he testifies, sufficient to produce the phenomenon in question; and as we see reason one way or the other, we shall believe or not.

We do not, then, think that from the doctrine of uniform causation, as taught in the essay before us, can be drawn any logical argument against the credibility of miracles; though from the mode in which the argument is developed to a certain point, and then left, we fear it has answered all the ends of a direct attack.

The truth is, that before miracles can be argued against, as impossible, the existence of God, and of all power more than human and natural, must be denied, for if there be such power, it may come in to neutralize the operation of the common laws of nature, as the power of life, in every living being, neutralizes the laws of chemical decomposition, gravity, and the transmission of heat; not that these laws are suspended, but they are overpowered. That Lazarus, living, should walk, be warm, and resist the laws of decomposition, was as much a miracle, — so far as the existence of some power superior to the usual laws of nature is concerned, — as that Lazarus should rise from the dead.

Miracles, to him that believes in a God, then, are possible, and may be proved. With the arguments as to the probability of their use, we have now no concern; our sole purpose being to speak of the tendency of an essay, which has been much admired, quoted, and read; which is close, clear, unimpassioned, and, we trust, meant to serve the cause of truth in all fairness, but has, in fact, blinded many eyes by its very excess of light.

J. H. P.

ART. VI. — 1. *Essai Politique sur l'Isle de Cuba; par ALEXANDRE DE HUMBOLDT. Avec une Carte, et un Supplément qui renferme des Considérations sur la Population, la Richesse territoriale et le Commerce de l'Archipel des Antilles et de Colombia.* 2 Toines, 8vo. Paris. Gide Fils. 1826. pp. 364-408.

2. *Historia Económico-Política y Estadística de la Isla de Cuba, ó sea de sus Progresos en la Poblacion, la Agricultura, el Comercio y las Rentas.* Por DON RAMON DE LA SAGRA, Director del Jardin Botanico de la Habana, &c. Habana. 1831. 4to. pp. 386.

IN these two works we are presented, it is believed, with the most correct and valuable information which the general reader can obtain concerning the population and wealth of the noble island of Cuba. The Spanish work is considered as somewhat more trustworthy in its details, than the other, and its facts are of more recent date; but as it consists almost entirely of facts and figures, it is deficient in that moral and literary charm which distinguishes the volumes of Humboldt, and in those reasonings and inferences from facts and figures, which cannot fail to interest the reader, whether he agrees to them or not.

Every thing relating to Cuba, by far the largest island of the West Indies, and nearly as large as England proper; an island communicating readily with the other Antilles, with South America, and with our own coast, and lying across the very mouth of our Mississippi; an island enjoying a heaven-blest climate, capable of producing almost all the known fruits of the globe, and of sustaining in comfort ten times its present population,—must needs be interesting. But there is one topic which is especially so at the present time, and in no country so much so as in our own. This is the topic of domestic slavery, which is treated of in both the works before us, in the one statistically, in the other both statistically and feelingly, under the head of Population. It is a topic which is not only interesting, but agitating our country to its depths, and engaging the thoughts, and dividing the sentiments of many of our best and wisest men. It is, therefore, impossible to speak of slavery in Cuba, without drawing attention to slavery in the Southern States of our Union; and the

facts which may be substantiated concerning that condition or institution in the one country, cannot fail to have some bearing upon it as it exists in the other.

With slavery in Cuba, the writer of this article has had some opportunity to be acquainted, during a late visit to the south-eastern part of the island. What he is to say of it, though he will speak in the usual style of reviewers, he will say from his own observation and on his own responsibility; not as a partisan, but, he trusts, as a lover of truth, liberty, and peace.

We are fully aware that the subject of slavery, in any of its aspects, is an exciting one, but it is not our purpose to produce excitement, and we do not believe that our remarks will have that tendency. We believe that the path of our duty lies in an opposite direction, and that we should do all the little that is in our power to assuage, rather than promote the angry feeling which has pervaded the community, and threatened the stability of our internal relations. But though our earnest desire is conciliation, we cannot deviate from our own convictions, to gratify the slaveholder on the one side, or the abolitionist on the other.

In order to prevent misapprehensions, however, which may arise from taking insulated portions of our remarks, apart from their proper connexions, we may as well state beforehand, and in brief, what our convictions are with regard to slavery. They coincide, we believe, substantially, with what may be called the great northern opinion and feeling on the subject; the opinion and feeling entertained by the great majority of the people of the free states. We say, then, that we are no friends, defenders, or excusers of slavery, and that we would not willingly live where it exists. We believe it to be contrary to the natural and inalienable rights of man. We believe it to be unpropitious to the character, mental development, and moral well-being, both of the enslaved, and of those who hold them in slavery. Believing this, and consequently believing that the abolition of slavery is desirable, we also believe that in countries where it has long existed, its removal must be a work of time, of preparation, of care, commenced and carried on with the utmost judgment and discretion; that in this country especially, it behooves us to avoid as far as possible, all sectional conflict on the subject; that slavery is not, and cannot fairly be called a national insti-

tution, but only an institution of some of the states composing the nation, with which the other states have engaged by original compact, implied if not expressed, not to interfere ; and that it is neither the right, the duty, nor the interest of those other states to interfere with it, even by the proffer of their advice and assistance, when the proffer is uncalled for, and found by experience to be universally disagreeable, irritating, dangerous, and useless.

The sentiments which we have just expressed concerning slavery in general, we used to express as freely in Cuba, whenever the topic of slavery was introduced to our attention, and always without offence. We never introduced the topic ourselves ; for to dispute about slavery, was not our purpose in going to the island ; but when the topic was presented, and our opinion regarding it was asked, or only seemed to be expected, we gave it with candor, and with candor it was always received. We are sure that we were quite as much respected for saying what we thought, as we should have been, had we pretended that we had no objections to slavery, and that opposition to it was a mere northern prejudice. Nay, we well remember that one gentleman, a planter, and the captain of the quarter in which we were at the time residing, had the delicacy and magnanimity to take for granted, that, coming from the north as we did, slavery was not agreeable to our ideas of right, and, framing his conversation on that supposition, went on to give us such information as he thought might be valuable. This, in itself, was hospitality, of the most generous kind. Where there is moderation on both sides, and mutual respect, conversation may be easy and improving, even on the subject of slavery.

With these introductory remarks, we proceed to state some of the results of our observations, on that subject. We shall be able to state but few, and these will not be methodically arranged ; but we shall produce as many as can be brought within the ordinary compass of a review in this work, and in the order in which they come to our mind.

A state may be bad in itself, and yet have its alleviations, and admit of much comfort and happiness. Such is the case with slavery ; and it is of some of the alleviations of this state that we shall first speak.

How is a stranger impressed by the appearance and behavior of the colored population, when he lands in St.

Jago, a city of forty thousand inhabitants? It will be impossible for him to distinguish by any outward signs, between the colored slave, and the colored free man. One is like the other, and the general aspect of both is that of hilarity and light heartedness. If slaves are pointed out to him in the street, they will probably be the gayest looking people whom he sees, and in the house he will be likely to find that but little work is required of them, that they have plenty of idle time, and that when they are punished, they deserve correction. We acknowledge, that this is but a superficial view of the condition of slavery, but it is not unworthy of notice, that even in the first and superficial view of it, there is nothing repulsive; and it is certainly some alleviation of any condition, not sinful, and not self-incurred, that it does not preclude cheerfulness.

It is much more to the point to declare, which we do distinctly, that the condition of slavery does not appear to the slave in the same light of injustice and degradation, that it does to us. The native born African was born and brought up in a country where slavery is, and has been for ages a common thing, a not unusual condition of his fellow-beings and equals. He has been accustomed to see captives taken in war held, as a matter of course, to perpetual slavery. He has been accustomed to see an insolvent debtor sell his children, or be taken himself into slavery, for the payment of his debts. He has been accustomed to feel that he was liable to be brought at any time, and by his own countrymen, into the same condition, and that he might bring others into it likewise, without wrong done or suffered. He would not, indeed, choose to be a slave, but he has always regarded it as a not improbable event, and one also that, under common circumstances, he would have no right to complain of. This may not be the case in every part of Africa, but it is in those parts from which slaves are generally brought to the western world. And we have the fact, not from the whites alone, but from the lips of the slaves themselves. On the plantation where we resided nearly three weeks, there was a slave, who himself had sold slaves in his own country, and what was more curious still, there were on the same plantation two negroes whom he had sold into slavery. Neither he, nor they, seemed to think that there was any thing wrong in the transactions which had thus thrown them together. They entertained no feel-

ings of enmity toward him, nor he toward his master. Their lot was unfortunate, but there was nothing wrong in it. Now we do not mean to say that slavery is all right and proper, because *they* thought that there was nothing wrong or improper in it, but that it is a great alleviation to the state, that no idea of injustice or degradation is connected with it by those who are in it, and who have only what may be called their native ideas on the subject. It is devoid of *that* sting, which would pierce like a serpent's tooth the heart of a white man.

There is yet another alleviation to the condition of slavery. The slave is elevated, — we speak advisedly, and after conversation with the slave himself, — we say the slave is elevated in the scale of being, by being brought to the country where he is held in bondage. He is introduced to a more civilized scene of things than that which he has left. He sees that his master is superior in knowledge, and generally superior in virtue, to himself and his countrymen ; and he cannot help respecting him accordingly. He sees that the religion, little as he may understand it, of his master, is a much superior one to that in which he was brought up. He feels that the God whom his master worships, imperfectly as he may know him, is a better Deity than the terrible shadows to which he has been kneeling in darkness and fear. There are influences about him, which are of a much higher character, than those which had surrounded him in his own country, and he cannot fail to be affected by those influences. He perceives, that, even his fellow-blacks hold themselves above him for a time, because they are more civilized than he is, and their ideas are more enlarged than his own. Consequently, one of the very first things which he desires, which he begs for, after his arrival, is baptism, initiation into the religion of his new country ; and after he is baptized, he feels that he occupies a higher position than before, and his companions acknowledge that he does. This being so, how unfair it is to compare, as some disputants on this subject have compared, the state of slavery as it appears to the negro, and the same state as it would appear to a civilized, Christian white man, and thus endeavor to make the white man angry, through his sympathies. The negro, as I have said, confesses himself inferior in resources, in mental acquirement, in moral habits, in religion, to him whom he calls master, and he, therefore, obeys him without a

sense of degradation. But let one of our Christian readers be taken as a slave to the interior of Africa, or to one of the Barbary states, and how will *he* feel on the same points? He will despise his master's habits, his master's morals, and his master's religion. Master will be a choking word for him to pronounce, in relation to a savage Pagan, or a half-civilized Mahometan. So far from seeking, as a boon and privilege, reception into the bosom of his master's faith, he will die rather than embrace it; and a constant sense of his superiority to those whom he is obliged to serve will eat into his life. The food which he consumes, the treatment which he receives, the quantity of labor which he is required to perform, may be the same which is measured to the negro slave; but how different the slavery which the former suffers, from that which is borne by the latter; how different, in the main respect, in its effects upon the mind and the soul.

Nor would we be misapprehended upon this head. Although the negro slave is elevated as a human being, by his situation in a country more enlightened and civilized than his own, it is not slavery which elevates him, for it has no such power, but it is the civilization and the religion with which he, as an intellectual and moral being, comes in contact, which elevate him. Let them have the praise, and not slavery. We did not mention the elevation as a justification of slavery, but as a mitigation of it, which has been ordained to attend it by a merciful Providence. Neither is this improvement in the negro's condition to reflect any credit upon the slaveholder, or to be pleaded in his excuse, because it was not to improve the negro's condition, that he sent for him, and bought him, but to cultivate his lands, and raise sugar and coffee for him, and help him to amass his fortune; that is, from the operation of a motive, not philanthropic, but wholly selfish. This will be readily allowed by the planter himself. We repeat then, that the elevation of the negro slave's condition is not a justification, but a mitigation of his slavery.

Besides the general alleviations which we have mentioned, and which attend the condition of slavery wherever it exists in civilized countries, there are some which belong to it especially in a Spanish colony. For instance, the Spanish laws and customs relating to slaves, are particularly righteous and humane; we might say paternal. An industrious slave can almost always obtain his freedom in a few years, if he desires

it. He can earn money in a variety of ways, and when he has accumulated the common price of a new slave, from three to four hundred dollars, he may come with it in his hand to his master, and, though he may be valued at three times that sum, his master is obliged to take it and set him free. The slave in Cuba can be only punished to the extent of a certain number of lashes, twenty-five, by his master. If his crime seem to demand a heavier chastisement, the law takes him into its own hands. The slave in Cuba can be a witness in a court of justice. He can stand up, as a man, before the tribunal of his fellow men, and give his free testimony, as in the presence of that Judge, before whose tribunal we must all stand, and that soon. It is unnecessary to contrast such privileges as these with the slave laws of our own slave states. A New Englander, who hears the former enumerated to him, while he rejoices at such proofs of a wise humanity, may hang his head in sorrow as he remembers the latter, and wonder at the policy which established, and the sentiment which sustains them.

There are some customs connected with religion, which must be regarded as alleviations of slavery in Cuba, because they bring master and slave together on that broad and common ground. It is the practice, so common that no man thinks of bringing it into question, for black and white, bond and free, to occupy promiscuously the open floors of their churches, and to stand or kneel together, in the closest proximity, before the altars of God. The fair and richly clothed lady goes quietly through her devotions, undisturbed by the features of deepest jet which are composed into seriousness at her side; and the slave dreams not that he is guilty of any intrusion or impropriety, even though he should happen to take a place immediately before one whose skin declares him of the Caucasian race and a freeman. Here is a practical illustration of the Christian doctrine of the equality of souls, and the negro cannot but feel its sincerity and beauty.

Again, it is worthy of mention, that every Saturday evening, and in many cases, every evening, on both the Spanish and French plantations, it is customary to assemble the negro children, and sometimes all the slaves, before the door of the house, and teach them their prayers. A circle is formed; the master, his son, or an overseer, stands in the midst; they kneel around him, and all together, and in the sight of

that Being who is thus acknowledged as the common Master and Parent, they repeat the Lord's Prayer, the Apostle's Creed, and a General Confession, in the vernacular tongue. The hum of their voices, as we heard it night after night, on the smooth, white *glacis*, and under the calm moonlight, is even now in our ears.

Another custom which we incidentally witnessed, though slight in itself, seemed to us important in its indications. It is observed chiefly among the Spaniards. We were standing one day with our host in the country, who, though a Frenchman by birth, was a Spaniard by adoption, and well acquainted with the Spanish language and customs, when a decent looking negro from a neighboring Spanish plantation came to him with an errand. As the conversation was carried on in the Spanish language, we could not understand it; but we observed that it appeared to be prefaced by a few words on both sides, which were uttered with unusual solemnity. When the slave was gone, we inquired of our friend the import of those two serious sentences. He replied, The man asked of me a blessing, according to the Spanish custom, and I gave it to him in the usual form. And what is that form exactly, we inquired again. He then repeated to us the words, and we shall never forget them. The slave said to him, "A blessing, my master! (*Un benedicion, mi amo!*)"—and he answered, "May God make you a saint! (*Dios ti haga un santo!*)" In these few simple and beautiful words, bringing to the mind the manner of the patriarchs, was contained all that words could express, to enforce the recognition of a common humanity, and the value of all souls with God. The negro, as one whose religious rights are fully acknowledged, demands a blessing. The white man, in the invocation that he may become a saint, confesses, that slave though he is, he may be made his own spiritual superior, and shine among the saints in the kingdom of heaven.

We have adverted to some of the alleviations of the condition of slavery in Cuba, which must also be, in some respects, its alleviations elsewhere, as we have ourselves observed them. We have dwelt upon them at some length, because they form the pleasantest side of the picture. We shall enter into no details of the evils of the condition, because they form an unpleasant side of the picture, on which others have dwelt sufficiently. If they assert that it has no side which con-

tains the least pleasantness or relief in it, but that it is all unpleasant, dark, and horrible, we promptly deny the truth of the assertion, and regard it as one of the greatest extravagances which can be put forth in language. But to show that we are not disposed to wink out of sight any of the practical evils of slavery, we shall observe in this place, that we were pained to witness in Cuba the manner in which the new slaves were regarded and treated, so very different as it was in general from the consideration in which other negroes were held. The newly imported slave is called a *Bosaal*, or, as Humboldt spells the word, *Bozale*, and this is a word of contempt and reproach, used often by the negroes toward each other to express a high degree of ignorance and awkwardness. The Bozales are, indeed, very ignorant and awkward; but they who tore them, or through whose means they were torn from their homes, should have some pity for the pangs of expatriation, for the sufferings of a long voyage in a crowded vessel, and some thought of the newness and strangeness of everything which meets their eyes and hands in the land to which they have been transported. Instead of this, no allowance seems to be made for the many disadvantages under which they labor, and they are left to find their place, and form their character, and acquire new habits as they can. In the course of a year, to be sure, or even a less time, they are commonly assimilated to their situation, have fallen in with the great mass of civilized negroes, and have gained a value in the eyes of their masters, and a place in their affections. But if they do not long survive their landing, and die before the term of their isolation is completed, they seem to be considered only as so much lost money, and are buried, as we have witnessed in the city of St. Jago, with the burial of dogs, without a coffin, and without a prayer.

We might dwell longer on this, but we repeat that it is not our object to enter into any details of the evils of slavery. If such had been our purpose, we might have classed those evils under three heads; the essential injustice of slavery; its liability to great abuses; and the injuries which it inflicts, whether they be felt or unfelt, on the free population of the countries in which it exists. But we trust that we should have said nothing, under either of these heads, unnecessarily or unjustly to irritate those, who, with whatever advantages they may derive, or think they derive, from slavery, are charged with all its heavy, very heavy responsibilities.

How long the institution of slavery may be continued in Cuba, is known only to Omniscience. We believe, however, that if *the slave trade* were effectually stopped, slavery in Cuba would, from the operation of several causes, come to an end and die a natural and peaceful death, before the lapse of many years. And there is good hope that the slave trade will be stopped, ere long, through the exertions which England is making to that end, and through the influence of English counsels on Spain and her dependencies. "It was stipulated between England and Spain," says Baron Humboldt, "that the trade should be prohibited, on the north of the equator, from the 22d of November, 1817, and that it should be entirely abolished on the 30th of May, 1820. The king of Spain accepted from England (posterity will one day with difficulty believe it) a sum of £400,000 sterling, as a compensation for the damages which might result from the cessation of this barbarous traffic." The slave trade, therefore, is no longer openly allowed by Spain; but she still secretly permits it, as advantageous to the planting interest in Cuba, and slaves are constantly imported under Portuguese colors. The English cruisers are so much in earnest and so vigilant in their pursuit of slave vessels, that they capture, as we were told, three quarters of the whole number which are fitted out; and yet so large are the profits realized by the remaining quarter, that the risk of the trade continues to be taken. No less than three slavers, bearing Portuguese colors, with three hundred slaves in each, discharged their cargoes in the neighborhood of St. Jago, in the course of the two months we staid there. The practice is, for the vessel to land her slaves a few miles above or below the city, and then to enter the port with false papers, which can be done in perfect safety, though every body knows what is going on, because the whole thing is winked at by the authorities.

But this cannot continue long; and when it has ceased, when the slave trade is actually abolished, slavery itself cannot, as we have said, survive many years. It is observed by Humboldt, that "persons who are well acquainted with the interior regime of the plantations, think that in the actual state of things, the number of black slaves would diminish one twentieth annually, if the fraudulent slave trade were to cease entirely." This diminution is assuredly very great; and it arises chiefly from the facility of obtaining freedom by

self-purchase, and otherwise, as we have already intimated, and from the amalgamation of the races, which, whether right or wrong, is extensively going on, and resulting in freedom; for a mulatto is not often a slave, and still less frequently is a quadroon in that condition. With regard to the former of these two causes, the facility of obtaining freedom, Baron Humboldt has the following observations. "In no part of the world where slavery is established, are enfranchisements so frequent as in the island of Cuba. The Spanish legislation, far from hindering them or rendering them onerous, as the English and French legislations have done, favor liberty. The right which every slave has *de buscar amo* (to change master,) or to enfranchise himself, if he can restore the price of purchase; the religious sentiment which inspires many of the masters who are in easy circumstances with the idea of giving a certain number of slaves their liberty by will; the habit of keeping a multitude of blacks for house service; the affections which arise from this near intercourse with the whites; the facility of gain for the slave mechanics, who pay their master but a certain sum by the day, for the privilege of working for themselves; these are the principal causes through which so many slaves pass, in the towns, from the servile state into that of free people of color." It may be added, that the blacks or mulattos who become free on the plantations, commonly repair to the cities and villages, and become mechanics and small shopkeepers. Some also live in cottages in the country, raise fruits and vegetables for market, and otherwise support themselves in comfort. While others, the most intelligent and enterprising, become planters, are highly respected, and take a rank only below that of white overseers.

If we are asked whether this increase in the numbers and moral strength of the free colored people does not endanger the safety of the whites, we answer, not at all, but the contrary. This was our conviction from all that we saw, and this is the opinion of the author from whose work we have already made translations. "The whites," he observes, "and above all, the enfranchised, *whose cause it is easy to bind to that of the whites*, are taking, in the island of Cuba, a very rapid numerical increase. The slaves would have diminished, from the year 1820, with much rapidity, had it not been for the fraudulent continuation of the trade. If, by

the progress of human civilization, and the firm will of the new states of free America, this infamous commerce ceases altogether, the diminution of the servile population will become more considerable for some time, by reason of the disproportion which exists between the sexes, and the continued enfranchisement; it will not cease, except when the relation between the deaths and births of the slaves shall be such, that even the effects of enfranchisement shall be compensated. The whites and the enfranchised form already nearly two-thirds of the total population of the island, and their increase marks at the present day, in this total population, at least in part, the diminution of the slaves." There is, indeed, no doubt that it is easy to bind the cause of the freed men to that of the whites. The freed men feel already a common interest with the whites, under the mild influence of whose laws and customs, they have become free, and what is even of more importance, respectable. When the slave trade is stopped, emancipation going regularly forward, step by step, will soon reach the plantations, where the blacks will become by degrees free laborers on the soil, as their brethren have become free laborers in the cities, while many of their number will be landholders and planters themselves. As all will thus acquire a stake in the country, there will be no violent revolution, unless it is stirred up by factions of the whites.

Or, put interest and attachment out of the question, still the whites in Cuba have nothing to fear from the blacks, because the blacks do not constitute so overwhelming a majority, as they do in the other large islands. A great misapprehension is apt to be entertained respecting the proportional numbers of the white population of Cuba. The truth is, that while the free persons of Cuba, white and colored, constitute, as stated in the above extract, nearly two-thirds of the whole population, the whites alone want less than an eighth part of being equal to all the colored people, both slave and free, and considerably outnumber the slaves alone. The census of 1827, as given in the work of Sagra, states the number of whites to be 311,051, of free colored 106,494, and of slaves 286,942. Thus we see, that, in a total population of 704,487, the whites want but 82,385 of being equal to all the colored, and that they outnumber the slaves by 24,109. Let us add to this, that, in the Central Department of the island, the number of whites more than doubles the number of

slaves, and greatly exceeds the whole number of people of color, the numbers being, of whites 98,223, and of slaves 42,028, while the number of free colored is 24,246,—and we shall see that a servile revolution is so improbable, as to be next to impossible, unless, as was observed before, it should be brought on, and helped through, by quarrels and divisions of the whites themselves. What a difference do these numbers show between the strength of the whites in Cuba, and what it was in St. Domingo, before the rebellion! In Cuba, as we have seen, the whites outnumber the slaves; in St. Domingo, in the year 1788, the whites were in proportion to the slaves, as *eight* to *eighty-seven* in a hundred, while the free colored formed the remaining *five* per cent! It is stated, that in Jamaica, in the year 1812, the number of whites was 40,000, of blacks 319,912!

We have observed that amalgamation is going on to a great extent between the two races in Cuba. This is a simple matter of fact. A single glance at the complexions of the inhabitants, will prove it to be so. In two, or at farthest, three generations, it is, however, impossible to detect the effect of this on individuals by the eye, or the ear. The men and women of the mixed descent are by this time as white, as graceful, and as intelligent, generally speaking, as those of unmixed descent; and some are among the wealthiest. There is pride in a light skin, and thus the tendency is always to whiten, and not to darken. It is these mixed creoles who have, almost equally with the white natives, an interest in the country, and in its tranquillity. They are considered as in an advanced state by all, both white and black, and treated accordingly. As a body, they would oppose themselves to any hostile movement among the slaves, at the same time, that every degree of increase in their body is a step toward general emancipation.

It is, therefore, from the facility existing in Cuba of obtaining freedom directly by self-purchase; from the extent of amalgamation, which terminates in freedom; and from the cessation of the slave trade, which cannot last long, that we look for the gradual, but sure and bloodless abolition of slavery in that large and fruitful island. That we are not alone and unsupported in our opinion, we will make another extract from Baron Humboldt's work, to testify. "The population of the island of Cuba, which, in fifty years [from 1826] will probably

exceed a million, may open, by its results alone, an immense field to indigenous industry. If the trade in blacks ceases entirely, the slaves will pass by degrees into the class of freemen, and society, recomposed of itself, without being exposed to the violent shocks of civil dissensions, will reënter the paths which nature has traced for all societies, which have become numerous and enlightened. The culture of the sugar-cane and the coffee-tree will not be abandoned, but it will remain no more the principal base of the national existence, than are the culture of cochineal for Mexico, that of indigo for Guatemala, that of cocoa for Venezuela. An agricultural, free, and intelligent population will succeed progressively a slave population, without foresight and industry." So may it be. Every judicious friend of humanity will rejoice at the prospect of such a consummation. So may emancipation take place, naturally and quietly. This must be the prayer of every philanthropist, whose precipitancy of temper does not outrun his reason and benevolence. But what if the people of one or two of the provinces of central Cuba, in which there is a large majority of freemen, should write, and talk, and hold meetings, and advise, and threaten the other provinces, on the crime of slave holding, and thus keep their neighbors in a state of continual fear and irritation? Is it most likely, that the day of freedom would be hastened or postponed by such a course? Is it most likely, that the condition of the slave would be meliorated or rendered worse?

In the mean time important influences are at work, and great effects are in a course of preparation in the two other principal islands of the West Indies, Jamaica on the south, and St. Domingo on the east; both of which are so near, that they may, on a clear day, be seen from some parts of Cuba, which has itself been called the "Metropolis of the Antilles." In Jamaica there is nominally no slavery now, apprenticeship having taken its place; and even apprenticeship will soon be extinct there, and all will be free. In St. Domingo, as the world knows, slavery was brought to a swift end, in horror and blood, near the close of the last century; and the world knows, too, that the catastrophe was precipitated by the whites on their own heads. If you would ascertain whether the grand experiment of emancipation, which the British government are carrying on in Jamaica, is likely to have a favorable or unfavorable issue, it is necessary that you should go

and make your own observations, and settle the question for yourself. You can hardly expect an unprejudiced answer from those persons in Cuba, whose interests are supposed to be in danger from the emancipation of the slaves in an island so near their own; nor can you be satisfied by those persons at home, who speak from hopes or theories rather than from facts. The former will tell you, as a matter of course, that the value of estates in Jamaica has greatly diminished, and that there is dangerous insubordination among the apprentices; but you need not render full credence to the statement. The latter will tell you, in general terms, that the experiment is going on gloriously. We inquired concerning this subject, of one gentleman in Cuba, however, a planter, a holder of slaves, an advocate of slavery, but withal a sensible, strong-minded man, and he answered, that it was impossible, from the nature of the case, the novelty of the experiment, the multitude of interests and considerations involved, to speak with absolute certainty on the point, and that we must wait somewhat longer for time to show indications of the result. He allowed, moreover, that the Jamaica experiment was a most important one; and we could not forbear respecting him, situated as he was, for the candor and moderation of his opinion. To ourselves it has long seemed manifest, that the main obstacle to the full success of the emancipation which Great Britain is so happily enabled to effect in her West India colonies, would be the natural, but still impolitic, opposition of many of the planters themselves, blindly arrayed against their own best interests, as well as the will of the home government, and trying to make all the trouble in their power. That this opposition, however far it may have been carried, is on the wane, may be gathered from the following documents, copied from a Jamaica newspaper, which we accidentally met with in Cuba. They are an Address of the Parish of St. Andrew, to His Excellency, Sir Lionel Smith, Captain General and Governor in Chief of Jamaica and its dependent territories, and the answer of the Governor thereto. No dates are appended to these documents, but the paper which contains them was published in March last.

ADDRESS OF THE PARISH.

“We, the Custos, Magistrates, Freeholders, and other Inhabitants of the parish of St. Andrew, take this opportunity of offer-

ing to your excellency our congratulations on your recent appointment as Governor of this important colony. The talent and integrity which have distinguished your public life in near, as well as in distant climes, give us the cheering assurance of enjoying, under your excellency's rule, an able, upright, and impartial government, and lead us confidently under your guidance to hope for a happy issue to the eventful experiment now in progress in this colony.

"We also embrace this opportunity of expressing our earnest desire to cement the social compact by conciliating and encouraging our peasantry, and to advance them in a knowledge of the duties and comforts of civilized life, by giving them the advantages of religious and moral instruction.

"We trust that all classes will unite in supporting your Excellency's government, and we anxiously wish that you and your amiable family may long enjoy health and happiness.

(Signed)

JOHN MAIS, *Custos*,
on behalf of the Meeting."

ANSWER OF THE GOVERNOR.

"Gentlemen, let me assure you that I receive this address with real pleasure, not because the kind congratulations of such a meeting of independent gentlemen might justly gratify my vanity, but it is acceptable as a sound demonstration in tone and principle, of those conciliating feelings which I early invoked, as the first object of my public policy, that I might endeavor to heal the previous unhappy dissensions of society.

"I cherish with heartfelt welcome your desire to improve the happiness of the peasantry through the means of moral and religious instruction.

"I hear with great pleasure from all quarters that there is a return of that confidence and good understanding so essential to the advantage of masters and apprentices, for this is the surest course to secure the future interests of both parties, and to realize the happy issue of the great experiment in progress.

"Receive, gentlemen, my thankful acknowledgments of your kind wishes towards my family, and my sincere assurance, that my best exertions will be faithfully devoted to the promotion of the welfare and happiness of all classes of his majesty's subjects under this government."

This is cheering. We like the sound of the word "*peasantry*." We have the best hopes of "a happy issue to the eventful experiment now in progress" in Jamaica and the other English Antilles.

In St. Domingo the negroes have been free for many years. If you ask what is the operation of their freedom on their present condition, you may receive but a discouraging reply from a white West-Indian. He will tell you that the state of the island and its inhabitants is most wretched, for, that where millions of pounds of coffee were formerly raised, hardly thousands are now produced. The fact on which this opinion is based, may be quite true. Indeed we do not doubt it. But it may not justify the opinion. It certainly will not justify it to the minds of those who do not believe that happiness and prosperity are in a direct ratio to the quantity of sugar and coffee produced. The negro himself might perhaps say, that he raised coffee enough when he was obliged to raise it; that he was tired of raising coffee, and that now he would raise what he pleased. There is a passage in Humboldt's work, which appears to be a hint of the truth. "These blacks of Hayti," he says, "more devoted to the culture of the *alimentary plants* than to that of the colonial products, increase with a rapidity which is only surpassed by the increase of the population of the United States." Liberty is sweet; and though the external condition of the Haytian negro may be little or no better than it was before the revolution, still, in his own hut, and with his own bananas and yams about him, he may be much happier. He may want industry, knowledge, refinement, religion. Can we wonder at these wants, or is it unreasonable for us to hope that they may be gradually supplied?

What a fund of valuable information might be brought to us, by one, in whose good sense, impartiality, humanity, and independence we could trust, who would go to Cuba, where negro slavery exists in perhaps its most mitigated form, to Jamaica, where it is passing away, and to St. Domingo, where it has passed away, — those three great islands lying in a group together, and within a day's sail of each other, — and see, and hear, and judge.

For our own parts, and with regard to our own national relations with this subject, it becomes us best, we think, not to dogmatize or denounce, but to inquire, to hope, and to pray; and, when we are called on to help our southern brethren, to act, and help them. If they are too irritable on this point, it is not our part to be too severe or hasty. Influences are in operation, and have been, which may be only marred by our

meddling. While we love and honor freedom, and insist upon it for ourselves, and sincerely desire it for all who live, whether they are white or black, let us not push before time and occasion, and in our zeal for liberty, endanger liberty and life, and destroy union and peace.

F. W. P. G.

ART. VII. — *Letters of LUCIUS M. PISO, from Palmyra, to his friend, Marcus Curtius, at Rome.* Now first translated and published. In 2 volumes. New York, C. S. Francis. Boston, Joseph H. Francis. 12mo. pp. 243 and 256.

THESE letters are a modern fiction; although from the classic calmness and purity of their style, we can scarcely persuade ourselves that they are not genuine monuments of antiquity. They remind us of the letters of Pliny. So absorbing is the interest of the tale they unfold, so complete its unity, so thoroughly consistent and harmonious in the fitting together of its parts, that evermore as we read we relapse into a dream, and are carried along, quite unconscious of ought but the scenes described, our whole being dissolved and permeated, as it were, with their classic spirit. A still air of reality pervades them. That hush of awe comes over us at times, which we feel with one of nature's sublime revelations of beauty spread before us, all whole, harmonious, one, wrapped in that tranquillity which always conceals the highest and most perfect vital action. No straining for effect, no forced adaptation of incongruous half-thoughts and crumbled images which will not be fused into a whole, no breaking through of the self-consciousness of the writer, from any want of the *ars celare artem*. Indeed, there seems to be no art to conceal, so like nature is it. It is rather the warm, living, unconscious, outpouring of a mind filled with what it describes, and yet lifted above it into a calmer atmosphere, whence it may comprehend it all in its just proportions and

relations, and see in it a beautiful portion of the great universe. Nor does it show any want of interest in particulars, any slighting of individual things ; justice is done to the humblest details. And yet the artist never loses sight of the whole in the particular. Details of joy or woe never betray his pencil into undue agitation. There is ever the same calmness, which looks down upon it all at once, and sees the smiling and the terrible, the lovely and the loathsome, blended into the general beauty. This is the grand charm of the book, as it is of every true work of art. In this, art approaches nature. Calmness without indifference is a sure characteristic of genius. True, we too often see it restive and rebellious, in its struggle to burst the conventional fetters of the world, losing its dignity, and uttering the boldest, wildest extravaganzas. But genius in its glorified state, when it has produced something worthy of itself, is ever calm.

We will not call the work before us a work of genius. We dare not give that high name to anything, until the world's sure and irrevocable judgment has gone before us. Genius does not appear to its contemporaries. We are content with admiring, and with trying to tell others what it is we admire, that they may join us. But the one characteristic above mentioned these letters do certainly possess. They are never dull, and yet always calm. In this respect Goethe might have owned them as a fair illustration of his own principles of art. They describe the thing always *as it is*, and do not adduce it to support a doctrine, or clothe a moral. The story is told for its own sake, and not for effect. It does not profess to teach, and for that very reason teaches the more effectually. Just so it is with the great book of nature, a lesson, read it as we may ; and yet no lesson obtrudes itself upon us ; no design is any where declared ; it is impossible to point to this or that phenomenon or law, and say it was intended to teach chiefly this or that. It seems to exist for itself, and only incidentally to enlighten man, equally perfect, though it should stand all unobserved, with none to astonish by its wondrous beauty, and by its endless contradictions, which, as we look at them, melt and run into harmony. Whatever is perfect, not only perfectly answers the end of some other, but is an ultimate end in itself, has a unity of its own. A picture, a poem, a romance, may be perfect as a work of art, without aiming to exert any moral influence ; and at

the same time the moral influence which it will actually exert, will be the greater, because of its truth. It represents life and nature as they are; and we cannot question its moral influence, without in the same breath questioning that of nature. A true reflex of nature ought not to pass judgment upon nature. The moment it does, it fails to reflect nature with truth, and is false as a work of art. Historic romance, then, of the kind contained in these volumes, has generally failed, from its being made the mere dress or medium of conveying some lesson, or from its passing judgment upon the events and characters which itself describes. Suppose an artist were to set out with *malice prepense* to show the superior loveliness of virtue to vice by means of a group upon canvass; would his figures speak? would they wear the uncompromising truth of nature? or would they not rather receive a false coloring from the ready sophistry of his good purpose, and neither virtue nor vice look like ought upon earth? And yet, every great monument of poetry and art teaches this lesson, without having ever designed it. Homer, who never dreamed of being a preacher, has left us an immortal homily. No one can tolerate a story in which he thinks he can see a concealed purpose. The unconscious minstrel, who "sings but as the wood-bird sings," he knows not why, is sure to win listeners, go where he may.

Wherein, then, shall the true moral power and beauty of a work of art consist? In the all-pervading moral spirit of its author, unconsciously breathing through all his creations, part of his own life, and of every life kindled from his. None but a pure and lofty spirit *can* create anything perfect, can copy nature with truth; for to do this, it must purge itself of passion, and rise above indifference. The keen, never failing, impartial insight of a Goethe, the sleepless curiosity of a Walter Scott, are not mere matters of temperament. They bespeak a high degree of spiritual culture, tell of noble victories of the soul over the petty experiences which would narrow or deaden. So we may be sure, that whatever commends itself to us as a work of art, whatever steals away our hearts and the painful consciousness of self, must be good in every Christian sense, and worthy to be preserved and cherished. Not every moralist can be a poet. Let him not try to be. But every true poet, who loves his art, loves truth, and beauty, and God, and is in a very high sense religious, whether he knows it himself or not.

From what has been said, it is evident that no fanatic, or violent partisan can produce a true historic romance. The artist must stand aloof from parties; he belongs to the universal and not the particular; and has a catholic taste, so that he can tolerate all characters, and love the peculiar beauty of each.

We have described the general impression which the *Letters from Palmyra* have left upon us; and at the same time taken occasion to hint at some principles of art, which we deem important, and according to which we would judge of their construction, after having first attempted some sort of analysis of their contents. And yet we cannot but shrink from the violent work of analyzing and sundering such a living whole. We would not destroy the pure, unbroken impression they have left. We fear to solve a pleasing mystery. An abstract can give but a faint idea of the life and beauty of the book. Yet it may serve to show out of what materials it is wrought; it may disclose some of its hidden excellencies, and teach us something in the art of construction.

These letters profess to be written by a young Roman noble, Lucius M. Piso, residing in Palmyra, to his friend at Rome. They describe the glory and the downfall of that splendid city and its famous queen Zenobia, queen of the East, and the most formidable rival of the emperor Aurelian. The narrative may be separated in several distinct threads, each forming a complete history in itself, so woven together as to increase the variety and interest, without destroying the unity of the whole.

The principal thread is the public history of Palmyra, or rather of Zenobia;—for the city sprang up at her bidding,—her spirit pervades it all; it lives in her. She is the central point of interest, not nominally alone, as are most of the dull kings and queens, whom obsequious historians feel bound to celebrate, but vitally and spiritually. She is the presiding genius of the place. She governs all in perfect peace, not more by force of intellect and resolute execution, than by love. All hearts swell in unison with hers, as countless waters heave to the moon, calm mistress of the tides. Her senates, her armies, her circles of private friends, think and act together as one; and she is the soul of them all. She is ambitious to rule; but she rules to bless. Her genial smile

expands all hearts, tempts forth to light genius of every form, fosters philosophy, poetry, art, and science, protecting, cheering, and refining all, and blending all in a common love of the beautiful and Godlike, of which she stands forth the highest personification, the very Minerva of this Athens, new risen in the desert. Her capital might move the envy of the gods, rich as it is with every ornament of art, every luxury of commerce, and every convenient provision of a good government, at the same time that nature lavishes her blessings upon it, and breathes over it the very air of Paradise. Here stands the magnificent temple of the Sun, with its innumerable pillars of white marble; here runs the long portico of Grecian columns, far as the eye can reach, within which crowds of merchants and idlers congregate, and artists display their works, and philosophers of every school harangue the multitude, eager for some new thing. Here are proud palaces, and monuments, and gardens filled with fountains and statues. Here every Grecian muse has found a home; her favored living sons open here their studios, while the choicest relics of the older masters hang around the walls of the palaces of the nobles, and the banquet of the gods laughs from the ceiling of their dining halls. Here Pindar is sung, and Sophocles recited, and Plato studied in shady retreats, by the murmur of fountains. And *here* too Zenobia is queen; Minerva alike in war, and in the realm of art; Diana in the chase. Sages, world-honored, are her counsellors, none sager than herself. The young and the beautiful cling around her, none the less beautiful or feminine, though nerved with her own warlike and patriotic spirit. All are ready to die for her. The love of country with them is but another name for the love of Zenobia. The fame of her arms had filled the world. She had driven the Persian Sapor to the gates of his capital, and dearly revenged upon him the insults heaped upon the unfortunate Valerian. For this Rome had given her the title of Augusta. Conqueror of Egypt, victorious more than once over the Roman legions, she had united the scattered tribes of the East under her sceptre; it was all hers, from Egypt to the Euxine, from the Mediterranean to the Euphrates. With all her virtues, her ruling passion was the love of power; and it proved her ruin. Ill could the enterprising Aurelian brook so formidable a rival to his otherwise unbounded empire. He had vowed to restore it to its limits, which

it had in the best days of the Antonines. Little heeded she his haughty summons to abate her high pretensions and to shrink within the narrow limits of her own Palmyra, leaving the East to Rome. Her ambitious soul burned to encounter the lords of the earth. Her sanguine people, grown almost fanatical in their faith in her and in their own prosperity, seconded her daring, and said, "Why not Zenobia to rule the world?" But sober minds were already predicting her fate. The days of Palmyra are numbered. It must fall with her who gave it life, and the sands of the desert sweep over it, hiding up its ruins for the astonishment of some traveller in distant times.

The writer reaches Palmyra in its most palmy period; and his first letters describe its dazzling glories. But soon come rumors of warlike preparations on the part of Aurelian, and a thousand speculations as to the direction he will take. They become more and more distinct and confirmed; he is bent upon recovering the East. It is joyful news to most of the confident Palmyrenes; they burn for the encounter. Suddenly, in the midst of the games and rural sports, most glowingly described, in which the queen and her young female knights display all the courage and strength of trained warriors, ambassadors from Rome are announced. For a few days they are detained, in order to preserve a show of deliberation, and then are dismissed with an answer of defiance. The war is now begun. Aurelian's armies stand ready to march to the East at the first news. Then come confused gatherings in the streets and markets, all exulting in the promised victory, for they believe their queen omnipotent. The queen at the head of her army, splendidly appointed, sets out to meet the legions on the coast of Asia Minor; but is there twice defeated and driven back. The city is besieged, and after exhausting all its means of defence, and finding its queen betrayed into the hands of the enemy, is surrendered, and its nobles and senators beheaded. Nothing can be more spirit-stirring than the description of the siege; it equals the best pictures in our old chronicles.

The last letter is from Piso, after his return to Rome, and describes the triumph of Aurelian, graced by Zenobia and other royal captives, and ends with her retirement, by the favor of the emperor to his palace at Tibur, there to waste away her days in silent sorrow, too late convinced of the folly of

ambition, soothed only by the presence of a few old friends and the memory of her former greatness.

The next distinct history is the personal adventure of Piso himself — the cause of his being at Palmyra, and the occasion of his writing these letters, though Zenobia forms their principal subject. In the first letter he delightfully describes his voyage from Rome, and the medley group of passengers with whom he found himself. Among these he becomes acquainted with some, afterwards conspicuous as the plot of his adventure thickens; particularly the saint-like Christian, Probus, a noble Roman convert, and the Jew pedlar, Isaac of Rome, a strange compound of superstition and shrewdness, of a benevolence which is his own, with the avarice of his tribe. He makes good use of his time in disposing of his wares among the group; he has wares for all, even a manuscript of the Christian Scriptures, which the austere Probus cannot resist. To Piso he sells some rings, on which are exquisitely engraved portraits of Zenobia and Odenatus. Thus is the presence of the great queen already felt afar off. Arrived in Palmyra, he is heartily welcomed by the old friend of his family, Gracchus, a noble old Roman of the true Cato stamp, now a devoted counsellor of Zenobia, and by the beautiful young Fausta, his heroic daughter, the playmate of his boyhood at Rome. To these he unfolds the object of his journey; which is to seek a lost elder brother, Calpurnius Piso, who with his father had followed the fortunes of Valerian into the East, and had been made captive with him by Sapor, and reported dead; but whom he had since learned to be yet living. The good old Roman and his daughter assist with counsel and active aid, while the latter cheers his spirits with Hebrew and Pindaric songs to the harp, and inspires him with the most glowing accounts of Zenobia and her city, herself a kindred spirit, the inseparable friend and sharer of all the labors, counsels, and joys of her divine mistress. Thus much is discovered, that his brother lives at the court of Sapor, the honored friend, though none the less the slave of the prince Hormisdas. It is concluded to be unsafe for Piso to undertake his rescue in person; and the Jew, Isaac, is fixed upon as a trusty and shrewd person, well fitted for the expedition. He is not slow of course, to set forth the difficulties and dangers and cost of the journey before consenting to serve the enemy of his tribe, and to stipulate for a good

solid price of gold, wherewith he hopes with pious zeal to contribute to the rebuilding of the holy Jerusalem. Isaac is successful in his mission. We wish we could quote his long letter to his employer, detailing his journey and subsequent operations. It is full of adventure and magnificent description of the terrors of the desert, relieved ever and anon by bright little oases of human tenderness; and it exhibits the character of the Jew to perfection. Calpurnius is found. By the cunning of Isaac he makes his escape to Palmyra, eager to meet a brother; but he returns no more a Roman. He cannot forgive his ungrateful country, which would not interfere in his behalf; he joins the army of Zenobia, and takes active part with her against Aurelian. In the end he marries Fausta.

This finished, let us take up another thread. The little plot just related is shortly told, but of course is somewhat slow of execution; and, besides, most of it is going on at a distance, while our correspondent is at Palmyra. This leaves room in the intervals of action for a beautifully varied Intermezzo, constantly reappearing; a series of sketches of characters, conversations on philosophy and religion, and literature and taste, views of scenery, rides, games, and a thousand little casual glimpses of the manners and spirit of the age and place. All this is woven in like the orchestral symphonies in a drama, filling up the bare interstices, and giving life, and warmth, and color to it all, till the illusion is perfect.

At the amphitheatre Piso sees the queen for the first time; all eyes are withdrawn from the cruel sports of the arena to her dignified and gracious bearing, her more than mortal beauty. It is a sublime sight, that of a vast multitude of faces, all beaming with eloquent devotion to her. Almost he forgets his Roman allegiance, he is carried so along with the universal current of admiration.

He is soon invited with Fausta and Gracchus to the palace. Here, surrounded with every external charm of nature and art, we find ourselves in the midst of a chosen circle, hanging upon the honeyed lips of the learned and true-hearted Longinus, the queen's minister of state, the worthiest living disciple of Plato, the critic of the Sublime and Beautiful, alike at home in the council, the closet, the grove, the gallery of the Graces, or the social banquet. Here, too, is the lovely princess, Julia, the bosom friend of Fausta, less sanguine and ad-

venturous, but with equal moral courage, of a more tender and serious beauty, which wins the heart of Piso. Here, too, lies stretched out in a stupid sleep, the dark, stern Egyptian, Zabdas, the queen's general, little amused by philosophic discourses, but dreaming of battles, and shouting to the charge ever and anon in his sleep. There are several beautiful conversations on the immortality of the soul, in which Longinus sets forth his belief in it, drawn from the light of nature, the internal cravings of the soul, and the incomplete fulfilment of man's destiny here, &c., but not quite to the satisfaction, as it seems, of all his hearers. They, too, long to feel its truth, but ask a confirmation, an authoritative revelation of a doctrine so hard to realize at all times. This leads to the mention of Probus and the Christians. Julia is herself almost a Christian by profession, wholly so at heart. The simple life of the Christians, the ennobling power of their faith, their disinterested devotion to it, and their tolerance to all religions, are spoken of with respect and admiration, for we are here in a circle of liberal spirits. Julia warmly defends this religion from the objections brought against its divinity, on account of the unfaithfulness of some of its followers, as the ostentatious Paul of Antioch, and of the rancorous sectarianism and mysifying tendency already seen in many of them, who are eager to make it conform to the scholastic dogmas of perverted Platonism. Sadly is the insufficiency of all other religions confessed in this circle of aspiring spirits, each seeking for some eternal rest, and bearing a presentiment of it within. These dialogues are quite Platonic in their style, except that there are no sophists to show up. So also is the visit to Longinus and Gracchus in prison, awaiting their execution. Gracchus is prepared to meet death with a stern, stoical resignation, not to Providence, but to what he calls the order of things, cheered more by the purity of his own conscience, than by any vision of immortality, and looking more at the past than at the future. Unexpectedly he is pardoned by Aurelian, and left governor of the ruined city. But Longinus dies with a cheerful faith, without any stoical pride, acknowledging the weakness of the flesh, and the reality of pain, setting the last seal to his favorite doctrine of the all-enduring, undying power of the soul. His conversation with his friends in prison reminds us of the death of Socrates.

Again we mingle with the crowds in the Portico. Here we are attracted to one side by a knot gathered round a loud, showy declaimer, exulting as they hear his subtle sophistry do away, satisfactorily to them, every creed which checks their selfishness. It is Critias, the Epicurean, preaching that philosophy, not as it was embodied in the person of its pure and temperate founder, but as followed out to its legitimate results in the weaker minds of his school. In another quarter we hear a Platonist mystifying and orientalizing the sublime poetry of his master. Here is the germ of the one half of Gnosticism; the other half is made up by Platonizing Christians, making a forced union of two incompatible systems. Farther on a yet larger and more earnest crowd are receiving into their very heart of hearts the sincere tones of our old friend, Probus, whom we met in the Roman vessel, and whom Isaac has cautioned us against so often, as a cunning knave of a Christian. In the evening, Piso, more and more interested in Probus, repairs to the retired hall where he conducts the simple Christian worship. Beautiful is this scene, and beautiful its effect upon the young Roman. Another of these Christian episodes is the visit of Piso and Fausta with Julia to an old Christian hermit, who had retired to spend the last days of an active life with nature and his God. He makes them more acquainted with the sacred books, of which Piso becomes a careful and candid reader.

Then there are other more careless and lively social scenes, revealing by a few slight touches worlds of realities both within and without. The following is very animated, — a scene in the house of Gracchus a few evenings before the army of the queen goes forth.

“‘And now, Fausta,’ said Gracchus, ‘bring your harp, and let music perfect the harmony which reason and philosophy have already so well begun — music, which for its power over our souls, may rather be held an influence of the gods — a divine breathing — than anything of mortal birth.’

“‘I fear,’ said Fausta, as she touched the instrument — the Greek, and not the Jewish harp — ‘I shall still further task your philosophy — for I can sing nothing else than the war-song, which is already heard all through the streets of Palmyra, and whose author, it is said, is no less than our chief spirit, Longinus. Lucius, you must close your ears.’

“‘Never while your voice sounds, though bloody treason were the only burden.’

“ ‘ You are a gentle Roman.’

“ Then, after a brief but fiery prelude, which of itself, struck by her fingers, was enough to send life into stones, she broke forth into a strain, abrupt and impassioned, of wild Pindaric energy, that seemed the very war-cry of a people striking and dying for liberty. Her voice, inspired by soul too large for mortal form, rang like a trumpet through the apartment, and seemed to startle the gods themselves at their feast. As the hymn moved on to its perfect close, and the voice of Fausta swelled with the waxing theme, Calpurnius seemed like one entranced — unconsciously he had left his seat, and there, in the midst of the room, stood before the divine girl, converted to a statue. As she ceased, the eyes of Calpurnius fell quickly upon me, with an expression which I instantly interpreted, and should have instantly returned, but that we were all alike roused out of ourselves by the loud shouts of a multitude without the palace, who apparently had been drawn together by the far-reaching tones of Fausta’s voice, and who, as soon as the last strings of the harp were touched, testified their delight by reiterated and enthusiastic cries.

“ ‘ When Zabdas and Zenobia fail,’ said Calpurnius, ‘ you, daughter of Gracchus, may lead the armies of your country by your harp and voice — they would inspire not less than the fame of Cæsar or Aurelian.’

“ ‘ But be it known to you, Piso,’ said Gracchus, ‘ that this slight girl can wield a lance or a sword, while centaur-like, she grows to the animal she rides, as well as sweep these idle strings.’

“ ‘ I will learn of her in either art,’ replied my brother. ‘ As I acknowledge no instinct which is to bind me to an unjust parent, but will give honor only where there is virtue, so on the field of war I will enlist under any leader in whom I behold the genius of a warrior, be that leader man or woman, boy or girl.’

“ ‘ I shall be satisfied,’ said Fausta, ‘ to become your teacher in music, that is, if you can learn through the force of example alone. Take now another lesson. Zenobia shall teach you the art of war.’

“ With these words she again passed her fingers over her harp, and after strains of melting sweetness, prolonged till our souls were wholly subdued to the sway of the gentler emotions, she sang in words of Sappho the praise of love and peace, twin-sisters. And then as we urged or named to her Greek or Roman airs which we wished to hear, did she sing and play till every sense was satisfied and filled.

“ It needs not so much sagacity as I possess to perceive the effect upon my brother of the beauty and powers of Fausta.

He speaks with difficulty when he addresses her, and while arguing or conversing with me or Gracchus, his eye seeks her countenance, and then falls as it encounters hers, as if he had committed some crime. Fausta, I am sure, is not insensible to the many rare and striking qualities of Calpurnius. But her affections can be given only where there is a soul of very uncommon elevation. Whether Calpurnius is throughout that which he seems to be, and whether he is worthy the love of a being like Fausta I know not yet, though I am strong in faith that it is so. In the mean time, a mutual affection is springing up and growing upon the thin soil of the fancy, and may reach a quick and rank luxuriance before it shall be discovered that there is nothing more substantial beneath. But why indulge a single doubt? only, I suppose, because I would rather Rome should fall than that any harm come to the heart of Fausta." — Vol. II. pp. 55–58.

We cannot refrain from giving another grotesque and playful scene which occurs among the games above mentioned — the frolic of the children in the court-yard of the queen's palace with a young elephant, nick-named from the Persian monarch, Sapor, who seems to have been the Santa Anna to frighten the children of those days.

"As we stood thus, Julia gazing upon the objects around us, or lost in thought, I — must I say it; — seeing scarce any thing but her, and thinking only of her — as we stood thus, shouts of merry laughter came to us, borne upon the breeze, and roused us from our reverie.

" 'These sounds,' said I, 'cannot come from the palace; it is too far, unless these winding walks have deceived me.'

" 'They are the voices,' said Julia, 'I am almost sure, of Livia and Faustula, and the young Cæsars. They seem to be engaged in some sport near the palace. Shall we join them?'

" 'Let us do so,' said I.

"So we moved toward that quarter of the gardens whence the sounds proceeded. A high wall at length separated us from those whom we sought. But reaching a gate, we passed through and entered upon a lawn covered as it seemed with children, slaves, and the various inmates of the palace. Here, mingled among the motley company, we at once perceived the queen, and Longinus and Fausta, together with many of those whom we had sat with at the banquet. The centre of attraction, and the cause of the loud shouts of laughter which continually arose, was a small white elephant with which the young princes and princesses were amusing themselves. He had evidently

been trained to the part he had to perform, for nothing could be more expert than the manner in which he went through his various tricks. Sometimes he chased them and pretended difficulty in overtaking them; then he would affect to stumble, and so fall and roll upon the ground; then springing quickly upon his feet, he would surprise some one or other lurking near him, and seizing him with his trunk would hold him fast, or first whirling him in the air, then seat him upon his back, and march gravely round the lawn, the rest following and shouting; then releasing his prisoner, he would lay himself upon the ground, while all together would fearlessly climb upon his back, till it was covered, when he would either suddenly shake his huge body, so that one after another they rolled off, or he would attempt to rise slowly upon his legs, in doing which, nearly all would slip from off his slanting back, and only two or three succeed in keeping their places. And other sportive tricks, more than it would be worth while for me to recount, did he perform for the amusement of his play-fellows. And beautiful was it to see the carefulness with which he trod and moved, lest any harm might come to those children. His especial favorite was the little flaxen-haired Faustula. He was never weary with caressing her, taking her on his trunk, and bearing her about, and when he set her down, would wait to see that she was fairly on her feet and safe, before he would return to his gambols. Her voice calling out 'Sapor, Sapor,' was sure to bring him to her, when, what with words and signs, he soon comprehended what it was she wanted. I myself came in unwittingly for a share of the sport. For as Faustula came bounding by me, I did as those are so apt to do who know little of children — I suddenly extended my arms and caught her. She, finding herself seized and in the arms of one she knew not, thought, as children will think, that she was already borne a thousand leagues from her home, and screamed; whereupon at the instant, I felt myself taken round the legs by a force greater than that of a man, and which drew them together with such violence that instinctively I dropped the child, and at the same time cried out with pain. Julia, standing next me, incontinently slapped the trunk of the elephant, for it was that twisted round me, with her hand, at which, leaving me, he wound it slightly round the waist of the princess, and held her his close prisoner. Great laughter from the children and the slaves testified their joy at seeing their elders, equally with themselves, in the power of the elephant. Milo being of the number, and in his foolish exhilaration and sportive approbation of Sapor's feats having gone up to him and patted him on his side, the beast, receiving as an affront that plebeian salutation, quickly turned

upon him, and taking him by one of his feet held him in that displeasing manner — his head hanging down — and paraded leisurely round the green, Milo making the while hideous outcry, and the whole company, especially the slaves and menials, filling the air with screams of laughter. At length Vabalathus, thinking that Milo might be injured, called out to Sapor, who thereupon released him, and he rising and adjusting his dress, was heard to affirm, that it had never happened so while he was in the service of Gallienus.

“ These things for the little Gallus.” — Vol. i. pp. 122 – 124.

The story of the Christian, Probus, is very affecting.

“ I am the son of a priest of the Temple of Jupiter — son of a man, who; to a mildness and gentleness of soul that would do honor to the Christian, added a faith in the religion of his fathers, deep-struck and firm-rooted as the rocks of ocean. I was his assistant in the duties of his office. My childish faith was all he could wish it; I revered a religion which had nurtured virtues like his. In process of time, I became myself a father. Four children, more beautiful than ever visited the dreams of Phidias, made my dwelling a portion of Elysium, as I then thought. Their mother — but why should I speak of her? It is enough to say, she was a Roman mother. At home, it was my supreme happiness to sport with my little ones, or initiate them into the elements of useful knowledge. And often, when at the temple preparing for the days of ceremony, my children were with me; and my labors were nothing, cheered by the music of their feet running upon the marble pavements, and of their merry voices echoing among the columns and arches of the vast interior. O days thrice happy! They were too happy to last. Within the space of one year — one cruel year — these four living idols were ravished from my arms by a prevailing disease. My wife, broken hearted, soon followed them, and I was left alone. I need not describe my grief; I will only say, that with bitter imprecations I cursed the gods. “ Who are ye,” I cried, “ who sit above in your secure seats, and make your sport of human woe? Ye are less than men. Man though I am, I would not inflict upon the meanest slave the misery ye have poured upon my defenceless head. Where are your mercies?” I was frantic. How long this lasted I cannot tell, for I took no note of time. I was awakened, may I not say saved, by a kind neighbor whom I had long known to be a Christian. He was a witness of my sufferings, and with deep compassion ministered to my necessities. “ Probus,” said he, “ I know your sorrows and I know your wants. I have perceived that neither your own thoughts, nor all the philosophy of

your venerable father, have brought you peace. It is not surprising; ye are but men, and ye have but the power and the wisdom of men. It is aid from the Divinity that you want. I will not discourse with you; but I will leave you this book, which I simply ask you to read." I read it — and read it — again and again; and I am a Christian. As the Christian grew up within me, my pains were soothed, and days, once days of tears and unavailing complaints, are now days of calm and cheerful duty; I am a new man.' " — Vol. i. pp. 14, 15.

Such is the subject-matter of these Letters. Are they true to the principles of art above stated? The first impression they leave upon the mind is, we have said, decidedly favorable. And we may safely say that a closer analysis of them does not materially disturb this impression. The first instincts of the reader are true. The examination, instead of disposing us to fault-finding, only surprises us by the complication of elements which we see working together to produce an effect so simple. What has the most perfect unity is the most complex. Every thing in nature's works is so. And every work of art, in proportion as it gives unity to the greatest variety of complex materials, approaches nature. Indeed this is but repeating that the artist should have a catholic taste, should look from a lofty point of view, and that a central one, upon his object, and contemplating particulars through the universal, see differences reconciled, and each part, however unlike its neighbor, yet helping to fill out the harmony of the whole.

How is it with these Letters? The writer seems to be without prejudices. He is of no party; sets forth no system by his tale, except that he every where recognises and claims kindred with the highest and purest, find it where he may, in the despised Jew, the Christian, the Platonist, or the Stoic. Justice is done them all. He writes, to be sure, in the Christian spirit, the spirit of love and toleration; but it is a spirit broad enough and simple enough to reverence and trust all that is good, under any form, however opposed to its own. Thus in the conversations on religion no great pains is taken to make the weight of argument lean to the side of the Christian advocate. Longinus talks as well, lives and dies as well, as many a Christian martyr. Gracchus, though a materialist in theory, we cannot but reverence, trusting that his heart is better than his head, and that he has the germ of a blissful immortality well planted within him. All minds at once feel

the truth of such a picture. Let this rebuke that narrow zeal of opinion, which would leave out of a picture all that does not make for itself. Nature, in her uncompromising course, takes no pains to conform her manifestations to our one-sided opinion, be it ever so much better than another's. She holds up every side. So does the artist. He judges not, but only tells what he sees; and in being able to do this, shows in how calm and pure a sphere his spirit dwells, removed alike from bigotry and from indifference, from passion and from dulness. The zealot frets himself that the world will not go as he would have it. Who can help him out of his trouble?

Again, the work does not seem written for effect. It professes to prove nothing. We are left to draw what inferences we can from it. It starts not from its classic repose to explain itself to us. Therefore we love it the more, we yearn to it, and are filled with it, and find we have been taught much, when we did not know it. Not more presumptuous would it be to suppose the external world created solely to educate *us*, than it would be to arrange the historic events here given, so as to teach chiefly this or that moral lesson. The work seems to propose to itself no object, but simply to grow into full consistency and truth. What it is, it seems to be for its own sake. The artist binds himself to tell no one what he wrote it for; and by keeping to himself this privilege, being competent to use it too, he has produced what must find readers; what the human soul cannot but trust and accept cordially, as it does nature. We cannot label this book: The evil effects of ambition, as shown in the fate of Zenobia;—for how comes it, then, that Aurelian, equally ambitious, and less worthy, is allowed to triumph. We cannot call Christianity its great end. Many pious writers, who think they can produce a romance as easily as a sermon, would think themselves successful in a story founded on the events of this time, provided they made it show that the fulness of time had come, and that light had risen to the Gentiles, &c. Here, on the contrary, Christianity is not made the all in all. It comes in beautifully and naturally as a mere incident; just as it came in in the course of things, known only in an obscure corner of the world, although the greatest fact in the world's history. But on the face of the times Christianity was not then the greatest fact, nor is it so yet. A true picture of the nineteenth century should not make too much of Christianity,

unless it be a picture merely of some little religious community. There religion would be the ruling idea ; but on the world's face it is gain.

As the natural result of what has been just pointed out in these Letters, their style is calm. The repose of ancient art is thrown over every scene. It just satisfies, but does not disturb the mind of the beholder. The creative spirit of the work seems not anxious about consequences, but goes calmly on creating. No apologizing self-consciousness obtrudes itself upon us. It never thinks to ask, "*Am I right*," for the very reason that it *is* right. And yet this is not the calmness of indifference. There is plenty of life here ; there are tremendous energies at work ; momentous events are woven into the plot, and they are not trifled with ; proud natures are struggling betwixt self-love and destiny. Nay, true love struggles against destiny. Our Piso himself, in love with the divine Julia, (what passion can be purer ?) has to hear his suit denied by Zenobia, and to see his angel sacrificed, like most marriageable princesses, to the policy of nations ; and yet small stir enough does he seem to make about it : his letters flow on as calmly as before. Here is a sin which most modern novelists would have feared to commit, and thereby spoiled their book.

This is certainly not an exciting book. It does not thrill us as we read. We see all through a calm medium of contemplation, which softens down every harsher feature. It all moves on with a panorama-like stillness. Many would call this a fault, and say it betrayed feebleness, a too passive and unsympathizing mood. But no — the most revolting, spirit-stirring events sink into perfect calmness as we rise high enough. The still blue heavens contain and look down upon unheard of writhings, and convulsions, and internal conflicts, which seem to disturb the world to him who sees but a piece of it. The fairest, stillest scene we ever look upon hides agonizing throes, which it is well they are not all on the outside. The calmest style is not inconsistent with the deepest feeling, and the most active spirit. Art throws this repose over all, without having to leave out any thing. We look calmly upon the writhings of the Laocoön, for Art has touched it with her idealizing wand.

For this reason we like the book. It is a calm, contented book. It is full of faith ; not anxious to make things out so or so, but takes all as right, as it comes from the hand of

Providence. We are interested in the young Roman's progress in the Christian books ; we want to see him become a convert ; we infer that he does become so, but this is nowhere distinctly told us ; this thread is dropped in the course of the development of more imposing events.

We cannot speak from much knowledge about the historical truth of these Letters. The fortunes of Zenobia form one of the most beautiful episodes in Gibbon's History. As to the principal events of her short, but glorious reign, and the political and social condition of the world at that time, they adhere to him very faithfully. Nor does her importance in the eyes of the world, nor her wonderful combination of beauty and energy in person and character, seem to be overrated. It is the privilege of Art to exalt a little. Yet the Zenobia of these Letters seems not too ideal a being, by the side of the Zenobia of history. History itself becomes ideal more or less, when persons and not statistics are its subject. So commanding a character as this lives in the heart and imagination of her age ; and probably the most glowing romance could not exalt her more than she stood exalted there. It is not Zenobia, carefully weighed and judged, exactly as she was, abstracted from the circumstances which helped out her appearance, care being taken to make her neither too good nor great ; but it is Zenobia as mirrored on the face of her times. This is the truest history after all. Aurelian, too, answers well to the picture in the Augustan Histories ; ambitious, energetic, stern, with no taste for greater glories than those of war, a very demon in the fight, yet honorable, with a proper respect for fallen greatness, and indignation for the meanness which could betray it into his hands. The letters weave in some of Gibbon's little anecdotes of him. Thus, during the siege, when Zenobia attempts to escape from the city through an old secret conduit, which leads under the Roman camp into the plain beyond, they come to a ruined arch in the passage, where light breaks through from above, and Roman soldiers are heard talking about the cruel fate of a soldier whom the Emperor had caused, for licentious conduct, to be torn limb from limb by being fastened to two trees bent forcibly together and then suffered to spring apart. This is one of the instances which Gibbon gives of his cruel and severe discipline.

As to customs, manners, costumes, localities, &c., we are

not enough versed in antiquities to judge of their entire accuracy. They have every internal mark of consistency and truth. We detect no anachronisms, or things out of place, excepting perhaps one or two, scarcely worth noticing. The state of philosophy, religion, and art, as here described, accords with all we know of them at that time.

Whether true to artificial life or not, these books are always true to human nature. A tender sensibility pervades them, quick to catch every side-gleam of moral truth, to seize upon every revelation of the heart. It is full of little touches of nature. Every where we catch little glimpses from the wayside, and hear sounds from behind us and about us, which marvellously increase our security, and make us feel at home on nature's ground. In several instances children play a beautiful part. The following little scene occurs upon the walls of the city. The little Faustula and Livia, the queen's daughters, are with Julia and Piso, watching the departure of the army.

“ ‘Why, sister,’ said Faustula, whom I held, and in pointing out to whom the most remarkable objects of the strange scene I had been occupied, ‘why does our mother love to go away and kill the Romans? I am sure she would not like to kill you,’ looking up in my face, ‘and are not you a Roman? She will not let me hurt even a little fly or ant, but tells me they feel as much to be killed, as if Sapor were to put his great foot on me, and tread me into the sand.’

“ ‘But the Romans,’ said Julia, ‘are coming to take away our city from us, and perhaps do us a great deal of harm, and must they not be hindered?’

“ ‘But,’ replied Faustula, ‘would they do it if Zenobia asked them not to do it? Did you ever know any body who could help doing as she asked them? I wish Aurelian could only have come here and heard her speak, and seen her smile, and I know he would not have wanted to hurt her. If I were a queen I would never fight.’

“ ‘I do not believe you would,’ said I, ‘you do not seem as if you could hurt any body or any thing.’

“ ‘And now is not Zenobia better than I? I think perhaps she is only going to frighten the Romans, and then coming home again.’

“ ‘O no—do not think so,’ said Livia, ‘has not Zenobia fought a great many battles before this? If she did not fight battles, we should have no city to live in.’

“ ‘If it is so good to fight battles, why does she prevent me

from quarrelling, or even speaking unkindly. I think she ought to teach me to fight. I do not believe that men and women ought to fight any more than children, — and I dare say if they first saw and talked with one another before they fought, as I am told to do, they never would do it. I find that if I talk and tell what I think, then I do not want to quarrel. — See! is that Zenobia? How bright she shines! I wish she would come back.'

" 'Wait a little while, and she will come again,' said Livia, 'and bring Aurelian perhaps with her! Should you not like to see Aurelian?'

" 'No, I am sure I should not. I do not want to see any one that does not love Zenobia.'

"So the little child ran on, often uttering truths, too obviously truths for mankind to be governed by, yet containing the best philosophy of life. Truth and happiness are both within easy reach. We miss them, in fact, because they are so near. We look over them, and grasp at distant and more imposing objects, wrapped in the false charms which distance lends." — Vol. II. pp. 82, 83.

Again, after the return of the routed and confused army into the city, we have the following.

"I stood leaning upon a pile of shields, which the soldiers, throwing off their arms, had just made, and watching them as they were, some disencumbering themselves of their armor, others unclasping the harness of their horses, others arranging their weapons into regular forms, and others, having gone through their first tasks, were stretching themselves at rest beneath the shadow of their tents, or of some branching tree. Near me sat a soldier, who, apparently too fatigued to rid himself of his heavy armor, had thrown himself upon the ground, and was just taking off his helmet, and wiping the dust and sweat from his face, while a little boy, observing his wants, ran to a neighboring fountain, and filling a vessel with water, returned and held it to him, saying, 'Drink, soldier, this will make you stronger than your armor.'

" 'You little traitor,' said the soldier, 'art not ashamed to bring drink to me, who have helped to betray the city? Beware, or a sharp sword will cut you in two.'

" 'I thought,' replied the child, nothing daunted, 'that you were a soldier of Palmyra, who had been to fight the Romans. But whoever you may be, I am sure you need the water.'

" 'But,' rejoined the soldier, swallowing at long draughts, as if it had been nectar, the cooling drink, 'do I deserve water, or any of these crowds here, who have been beaten by the Romans, and so broken the heart of our good queen, and possibly lost her her throne? Answer me that.'

“ ‘ You have done what you could I know,’ replied the boy, ‘ because you are a Palmyrene, and who can do more ? I carry round the streets of the city, in this palm-leaf basket, date cakes, which I sell to those who love them. But does my mother blame me because I do not always come home with an empty basket ? I sell what I can. Should I be punished for doing what I can not ? ’

“ ‘ Get you gone, you rogue,’ replied the soldier, ‘ you talk like a Christian boy, and they have a new way of returning good for evil. But here, if you have cakes in your basket, give me one and I will give you a penny, all the way from Antioch. See ! there is the head of Aurelian on it. Take care he dont eat you up — or at least your cakes. But hark you, little boy, do you see yonder, that old man with a bald head, leaning against his shield, go to him with your cakes.’

“ The boy ran off.

“ Friend,’ said I, addressing him, ‘ your march has not lost you your spirits, you can jest yet.’

“ ‘ Truly I can, if the power to do that were gone then were all lost. A good jest in a time of misfortune, is food and drink. It is strength to the arm, digestion to the stomach, courage to the heart. It is better than wisdom or wine. A prosperous man may afford to be melancholy, but if the miserable are so, they are worse than dead — but it is sure to kill them. Near me I had a comrade whose wit it was alone that kept life in me upon the desert. All the way from Emesa, had it not been for the tears of laughter, those of sorrow and shame would have killed me.’ ” — Vol. II. pp. 104, 105.

The style of these Letters is clear and transparent, always simple and unaffected. There is now and then a little awkwardness in the construction of sentences, and occasional instances of at least doubtful grammar. If there be any faults of style it is monotony. It is calm and unvaried, never broken or impassioned, and never rising into the lyric. It is always best in the narrative parts, and in descriptions of quiet beauty. It loves the still summer scene. It is not a nervous or sententious style ; it is diffuse and flowing. It has more beauty than strength. Every thing comes through a contemplative medium. Language only subserves the pictorial fancy of the artist. Hence the wonderful distinctness with which images are grouped. Every thing is steadily reflected as upon still waters. Evidently the conceptions all shaped themselves first to the eye. We extract a specimen of these soft summer views.

"But the palace itself, though it be the work of man, and not of gods, is not less beautiful than all these aspects of nature. It is wholly built after the light and almost fantastic forms of the Persian architecture, which seem more suited to a residence of this kind than the heavier fashions of the Greek or Roman taste. Hadrian's villa is alone to be compared with it for vastness and magnificence, and that, compared with this, seems a huge prison, so gay and pleasing are the thoughts and sensations which this dream-like combination of arch upon arch — of pinnacle, dome, and tower; all enriched with the most minute and costly work — inspires the mind.

"Nothing has pleased me more than at times, when the sultry heats of the day forbid alike study and recreation, to choose for myself some remote and shaded spot, and lying along upon the flowery turf, soothed by the drowsy hum of the summer insects, gaze upon this gorgeous pile of oriental grandeur, and lazily drink in the draughts of a beauty (as I believe) no where else to be enjoyed. When at such hours Julia or Fausta is my companion, I need not say in how great degree the pleasure is heightened, nor what hues of a more rosy tint wrap all the objects of the scene. Fountains here, as every where in the eastern world, are frequent, and of such size as to exert a sensible influence upon the heated atmosphere. Huge columns of the coldest water, drawn from the recesses of the mountains, are thrown into the air, and then falling and foaming over rocks rudely piled, to resemble some natural cascade, disappear, and are led by subterranean conduits to distant and lower parts of the ground. These fountains take many and fantastic forms. In the centre of the principal court of the palace, it is an enormous elephant of stone, who disgorges from his uplifted trunk a vast but graceful shower, sometimes charged with the most exquisite perfumes, and which are diffused by the air through every part of the palace. Around this fountain, reclining upon seats constructed to allow the most easy attitudes, or else in some of the apartments immediately opening upon it, it is our custom to pass the evening hours, either conversing with each other, or listening to some tale which he who thinks he can entertain the company is at liberty to relate, or gathering at once instruction and delight, as Longinus, either from his memory or a volume, imparts to us the choicest parts of the literature of Athens or of Rome. So have I heard the *Cædipus Tyrannus*, and the *Prometheus*, as I never have heard them before. At such times, it is beautiful to see the group of listeners gathering nearer and nearer, as the philosopher reads or recites, and catching every word and accent of that divine tongue, as it falls from his lips. Zenobia, alone, of all who are there, ever pre-

sumes to interrupt the reader with either question or comment. To her voice, Longinus instantly becomes a willing listener, and well may he; for never does she speak, at such moments, without adding a new charm to whatever theme she touches." — Vol. i. pp. 133 – 135.

As a work of art, we may safely say that this much exceeds most similar productions of the age. It will compare well with Valerius. Bulwer's "Pompeii" and "Rienzi" have perhaps more vigor; but in calmness, simplicity, truth, and unity, they are far inferior. They are wonderful and for the most part, beautiful pictures. But they are *outré*; — all the materials seem carefully sought out from the marvellous recesses of human experience, as if nothing common would do. They are like some of the modern landscapes in our gallery of paintings, full of blue mists and dream-like combinations, which may be matched perhaps in nature, but if so, are of the rarest and most recondite appearances of nature. This is cheaper work, than painting her in her every-day garb, as Domenichino, and Paussin, and Claude have done. These wonder-pictures soon weary us; it does not seem as if the familiar, healthy, every-day light of the sun shone upon them, but rather as if they were lit up by some false magic light. So it is with these novels, when compared with the Tasso and Iphigenia of Goethe, or the Ivanhoe of Scott, and we may add, the Letters from Palmyra. They far exceed "Philothea," in their simplicity and in the perfect fusing and blending of their materials into a living, consistent whole. In the latter there are beauties, but ill-combined, much fine thought out of place, or forced in; and a perpetual self-consciousness of the writer appears, a constant striving for effect, which lets nothing run into any natural form. It wants that true perspective in which these Letters bring every thing before us.

Perhaps we have praised the work extravagantly. If so, we shall not regret it, so we induce many to read it. In speaking as we have, we have been true to our instinct, and have faithfully given the first impression which the book made upon us, before we set about artificially to judge it.

J. S. D.

ART. VIII. — *Four Lectures on the Evidences and Doctrines of the Christian Religion*, By THOMAS WOOD, Minister of Stamford Street Chapel. London. 1836. 8vo. pp. 77.

THE author of these discourses is one out of four or five English divines, who have recently renounced Orthodoxy and embraced Unitarianism, at the great hazard of their worldly interests, and often at great sacrifices. The following is the account which Mr. Wood gives of the religious experiences through which he was led to adopt, and become the public and able advocate of, the sentiments he now holds.

“ I was educated amongst the Calvinistic Dissenters, and exercised, in connexion with them, for about eight years, a somewhat fugitive ministry, suffering long intervals of severe illness and consequent mental depression. As I approached the termination of the period I have mentioned, I became increasingly dissatisfied with the theological creed in which I had been educated, and which I had taught to others, until I was quite unable to meet the demands made upon me constantly to reiterate from the pulpit the peculiar doctrines of Calvinism, or to cherish that sanctimonious state of the thoughts and feelings which Calvinistic Dissenters regard as essential to piety. Neither could I any longer brook the petty vexatious inquisition they impose respecting every freedom of thought or speech or carriage. It was believed by my friends and myself that in some quiet pulpit of the Established Church I might find repose and liberty. At this period I was not delivered from the prejudice which holds the Gospel to contain a system of mystical theology, although I no longer regarded the several doctrines of that theology as suitable topics for frequent pulpit discussion ; I felt, therefore, no difficulty in subscribing to the articles of the Church. Application was made to the proper authority for my admission to holy orders, and I cheerfully and gratefully record the courtesy with which that application was entertained, and the generous countenance I received from several clergymen. A reasonable delay was required. I set myself to the complete revision of my religious sentiments. By the study of the Scriptures I became convinced that the New Testament contains no system of mystical theology whatever, that it asserts the distinguishing truth of the Jewish religion — the unity of God ; that it affirms the universal sinfulness of the human race ; that it inculcates repentance towards

God, and on repentance, promises mercy ; that it enjoins faith in Jesus Christ as the divinely appointed and divinely endowed Messiah ; that it enforces the moral virtues as the pure sources of present happiness and everlasting good ; and that it reveals the great solemn facts of the resurrection of the dead and a future judgment. This conclusion of course forbade any further thoughts of entering the Established Church. The noble simplicity of these truths, their sweet, merciful tendencies, imparted a calm satisfaction, a holy liberty to my mind, which the sterner temper of the Calvinistic system had never inspired. Three years have since elapsed ; I have read much on them, and thought much on them ; my first impressions have been greatly deepened. I believe these truths to be most valuable ; I believe they constitute pure religion ; I believe they are the means by which the human race will yet be rescued from idolatry, and error, and vice, and from the immense portion of unhappiness consequent on these ; I therefore appear before you this morning as their advocate." — pp. 2 – 4.

The first lecture is on the Divine Origin of the Christian Religion ; the second is on the Unity of God ; the third, on the Way of Salvation ; and the fourth and last, on the Moral Influences of the Unitarian and Athanasian Opinions contrasted. On neither of these subjects does the writer find occasion for the display of much originality, or profound learning, or for the higher flights of eloquence ; but the thoughts are strong, and the style for the most part clear and forcible, and the performance in all respects highly creditable. It will be read by many ; and by none without advantage, as may be shown by a few extracts better than by a general description of the work.

We suspect there is more in the warning which Mr. Wood utters in regard to the probable consequences of the total overthrow of the Establishment, than many of our Unitarian friends in England are prepared properly to appreciate.

" It may appear to some persons the mere anticipations of timidity to expect, in this age, penal censure on account of religious opinions, but the signs of the times are not entirely free from intimations of such an evil. The Church of England has long stood in our midst as a tower of strength, for generations the fastness of bigotry and luxury, yet sometimes the abode of piety and virtue, and latterly of toleration. The stream of ages rolling by its base is gradually swelling to a torrent which threatens its foundations, and will assuredly sweep off those

remnants of things which have passed away, and which the same stream brought down from a remote antiquity and deposited and heaped around it. It may be, that in the hour of her peril she may be cleansed from her impurities, and her pride, and her Athanasian heresy, and remain amongst us as a place of refuge, around which many of the friends of religion and peaceful freedom will be found to muster, and which may yet hold in check the inroads of fanatical intolerance. But she may be utterly overthrown. Then will blaze forth that hot zeal for a stern theology which has long smouldered in the hearts of a large and increasingly powerful body of our countrymen, the avowed advocates of liberty, yet the enemies of every free thought, who eschewing subscription to church articles, bind themselves, and would, if possible, bind all men by a creed far more narrow, far more severe." — p. 7.

In the lecture on the Unity of God, after mentioning some of the numerous and conflicting explications of the Trinity given by the old defenders of that doctrine, he thus proceeds:

"The Trinitarians of our time adopt none of these hypotheses; they distinctly renounce them all. They profess not, indeed, to explain their opinions. They acknowledge that they themselves do not understand them. They consider them as sacred mysteries which are utterly beyond human comprehension. What, then, do they affirm? They say, we read in the Scriptures that God is one, and we believe that truth. We understand also from the Scriptures that Jesus Christ is God, and that the Holy Spirit is God, and we believe those truths also. Yet we do not think that there are three Gods, but that God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, are in a manner altogether beyond our comprehension, but one God. We think it wrong to invent any hypothesis on the subject, since we find none in the Scriptures. We can give to our own minds no explanation of this holy mystery, so of course can offer none to the minds of others. We receive and teach the simple facts as we find them in Scripture. The simple facts! What are these simple facts? First, that the Scriptures teach that God is one. Granted. Second, that they teach that Jesus Christ is God. Denied — but for the present granted. Third, that they teach that the Holy Spirit is God. Denied — but for the present granted too. Well, these are all the facts. That God the Father, and God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, are not three Gods, but one God, is no Scripture fact. This is a mere assertion — a poor inference of the Trinitarian himself. A logical, necessary inference? By no means. The only logi-

cal, necessary inference from these simple facts is, that the Christian Scriptures teach three Gods, and yet that they teach but one God, — a gross absurdity and a direct contradiction." — pp. 32, 33.

Again, on the subject of the alleged two natures in Christ he says :

"Before, however, leaving this part of our subject, let us hear what one of the most wary of Trinitarians, whom we have already quoted, and whose opinion is greatly respected, really does affirm. 'We readily avow that we pretend not to know in what manner the divine and human natures, which we attribute to the Messiah, are united in his sacred person. We believe that in this respect, especially, "his name is wonderful," and that "no one knoweth the Son, except the Father." The Scriptures appear to us on the one hand, to teach the existence of such a union as produces a personal oneness; and on the other, to exclude the notion of transmutation or confusion of the essential perfections of either nature with respect to the other.' 'The question of such a union is a question of *fact*; and its proper, its only evidence, is Divine Revelation.' Again we ask, what is this question of fact? The Scriptures teach that Jesus Christ was a man. Granted. The Scriptures teach that Jesus Christ is God. Denied — but for the present granted. Well, these are all the facts. That Jesus Christ is both God and Man, God and Man mysteriously united — 'that the person of Jesus the Christ, the Lord, Redeemer, and Savior of Mankind, comprises the unique and mysterious union of humanity and deity; the human nature with all its proper qualities, the divine nature with all its essential perfections,' — is no Scripture fact. This is a mere assertion, a poor inference of the Trinitarian himself. A logical, necessary inference? By no means. The only logical, necessary inference from these facts is, that the Christian Scriptures teach that Jesus Christ is Man, and yet that they teach also that Jesus Christ is God — a direct contradiction and an absurd and fearful impiety. But they do not teach either the contradiction or the impiety. They do not teach that Jesus of Nazareth, the man approved of God, was God." — pp. 35, 36.

Farther on, he thus sums up and applies the argument against the Trinity to be derived from the manner in which the Apostles expounded the new faith to their countrymen.

"Without going into an analysis of these several Apostolic expositions of the Christian religion, I appeal to any serious, zealous Trinitarian minister, I ask him — whether his con-

science would allow him to use the language, and no word more than the language, which the Apostle Peter addressed to the assembled Jews on the day of Pentecost — if he were called upon to address an immense body of Jews on the character and mission of Jesus Christ, — the very topic of Peter's discourse? I put it to him, whether his conscience would allow him to confine his discourse to the being, and perfection, and providence of God, as Paul did on Mars' Hill, if he were called upon to address a heathen audience; or whether, in speaking to such an audience on the future judgment, he would merely say, '*Because*' God '*hath appointed a day, in which he will judge the world in righteousness by that man whom he hath ordained; whereof he hath given assurance unto all men, in that he hath raised him from the dead*'? I put it to him whether, if called upon, as Paul was called upon, to declare his faith in a public court of law, his conscience would allow him to affirm merely that the distinguishing article of that faith was a belief in the resurrection of the dead? I put it to him whether, if sent for in private, as Paul was sent for by a ruler of the land, to expound the religion of Christ, his conscience would allow him merely to reason of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come? I put it to him whether, on all such occasions, he would not feel it to be his paramount duty to exhibit, in most prominent view, the Deity of Jesus Christ; the doctrine of the Trinity; the fall of man; the universal depravity of man; the doctrine of the atonement; salvation by faith; and the eternal misery of all who rejected those doctrines? Now he, the modern Trinitarian preacher, looks back on the facts of the Christian religion, and on the Savior's method of teaching the truths of his religion, through the long vista of eighteen hundred years, yet he feels an imperative necessity for preaching the Gospel in a way so widely different from the way in which the Apostles and companions of Jesus are recorded to have preached it, that he would tremble in his soul to confine himself, even in his briefest addresses to his own Christian brethren, to the topics and illustration embraced in the Apostolic sermons. — He feels that, if he were placed in the position of the Apostles, he would have poured out his soul in advocating his Lord's divinity and atonement, before Jews and Greeks, and bond and free, before magistrates and kings, before the congregated thousands, and in the secrecy of private conference. Why is this? Whence arises this strange difference between the Apostolic sermons and the sermons of Trinitarian preachers? There is one explanation which the elder Trinitarians very generally adopted, although it is quite rejected by their modern brethren. I refer to the notion, that the Apostles suppressed the

great doctrines of the Trinity, and the Deity of Christ, from motives of a politic nature, and that they transmitted these through private oral tradition. The prevalence of this notion from the first to the fourth century confirms our reasoning, that there is a wondrous discrepancy between the Apostolic preaching and the modern Trinitarian opinions — and, as we do not believe the Apostles had recourse to any such disgraceful, dishonest practice, it conducts to the necessary consequence, that these opinions are not Apostolic. — pp. 42, 43.

The discourse on the comparative effects of the two systems in controversy, abounds in weighty suggestions and thrilling pictures ; but we must content ourselves with giving a single extract.

“ We have taken notice of the influence of the popular theology on observant but skeptical persons — what must be its effects on intelligent, conscientious, humane hearts, who implicitly receive it as the only true religion ! There are unquestionably many such. But we think we have abundant indications that of these there are few who do not feel it to be a hard bondage. We speak not of the unthinking, indurated, presumptuous thousands who indulge brief questioning of their own eternal salvation, and deal out their deep-mouthed damnation against their fellow-men, with a flippant levity or a brutal satisfaction horrible to hear, — but we speak of those better minds, whose modesty and mercy are not crushed to death by their iron theology. We think we perceive how their free thoughts are fettered, how their charities are restrained, how they are driven to compromise veracity and candor, — how they bid to silence honest, sturdy doubts by pettiest reasons, and instead of meeting these with a bold brow and a free heart, shrink before them into any shallow prevarication that offers a refuge. But we are not left to conjecture the effect on such minds ; many of them have recorded their experience. And do they not tell us of their struggles with unbelieving thoughts which will not be suppressed, but which stoutly question the most essential points of their creed, implicit and unshaken faith in which, constitutes their peace, their hope, their safety ? Do they not tell us of the writhings of their natural feelings against the stern character of their Deity, not to be appeased without blood, dooming the creatures of his hand to dreadful agonies, and looking on their tortures with fearful complacency ? Do they not tell us of their anxious and often fruitless search after evidence of their own conversion, of their lingering suspicions that they are self-deceived, of their burning fears that

sin and Satan will finally prevail against them? Are they not at times haunted with a worse terror than ever oppressed the Atheist's mind? His extreme anxiety is the thought of annihilation—a thought which the wretched only can reflect on with satisfaction, but which no one need anticipate with dread, since consciousness and existence must cease together, whilst the utmost which the popular theology permits to any man, is the *hope* that he is among the chosen number destined for heaven. He may be included in that vast majority who are reserved for perdition and eternal death. This terror made the life of the amiable, gifted Cowper, one lengthened melancholy, and it has driven some to distraction, and added to the gloomy catalogue of human miseries—religious madness and religious suicide. 'Then, to think that myriads of our fellow-men are, generation after generation, passing away unconverted, unredeemed, to the regions of eternal woe, to watch by the death-bed of beloved relatives and affectionate friends, who, by sharing our joys, more than doubled them, and by partaking of our sorrows, made them light; whose faithfulness has been unchanged in either fortune; whose very heart-strings are entwined with ours; to see them die, without a sign that they are saved; to stand by their graves, and to think we shall never more behold them but in everlasting torments, were enough to distract the brain, and would drive men mad—but that the holy feelings of the human heart cannot be exterminated, and render the firmest believers in this afflicting creed secretly skeptical and unbelieving.' — pp. 72, 73.

We welcome every such new accession to the cloud of witnesses for what we conceive to be incorrupt Christianity. If any one is entitled to speak with authority on the respective merits of Unitarianism and Trinitarianism, it must be one who, like Mr. Wood, is thoroughly acquainted with both, and has had actual experience of the moral influence of both, and this, too, at a time when his heart was deeply interested in the subject, and his mind in a condition to note and record its impressions.

NOTICES AND INTELLIGENCE.

A Compendium of Christian Antiquities: being a brief View of the Orders, Rites, Laws, and Customs of the Ancient Church in the Early Ages. By the Rev. C. S. HENRY, A. M. Philadelphia: Joseph Whetham. 1837. Svo. pp. 332. — A great deal of curious Christian learning is here given us in a small compass. We know indeed of no other book, of a similar size, in which nearly the same quantity of information could be obtained, concerning the antiquities of the church; and they, who are acquainted with the value of Bingham's *Origines Ecclesiasticæ*, and are told that this volume is hardly more than an abridgment of it, will want no further certificate of the general accuracy of its facts and statements. "The work of Bingham," as we are informed by Professor Henry in his Preface, "has been relied upon as to facts and authorities, as well as followed in its general method; still an attentive comparison will show occasionally an independent reference, and more frequently an independent exercise of judgment upon the materials brought together by Bingham."

We should have been better pleased, if the Professor had either not differed at all from his original, or had stated to us the manner in which he had seen fit to do so, so that we could always distinguish his "independent references" and "independent exercises of judgment" from the references and conclusions of the learned Bingham. No variation from his author should have been allowed in the text. And additional references, or a difference of opinion, could always and easily have been designated in a note. Yet we sincerely thank Professor Henry for this abridgment. It is very interesting to Christian students to know what the early Christians thought and did, though their thoughts and actions are to be regarded only as precedents and not as authority — precedents to be observed or not by us, according as we deem them to conform or not to the dictates of reason, and the language and spirit of Scripture.

The Feast of Tabernacles. A Poem for Music. By HENRY WARE, JR. Cambridge: John Owen. 1837. 16mo. pp. 38. — This poem has been set to music by Mr. Charles Zeuner, and was performed at the Boston Odeon the last spring by the choir of the Academy of Music, to the great satisfaction of those who heard it. As we were not among the number of the hearers, we can only speak of the poem as it now appears before us, separated from the charms of melody; and we can truly say that the peru-

sal of it has been to us not unlike pleasant music, so evenly do its numbers flow on, and so pure is the impression which it leaves upon the mind. The scene is the temple at Jerusalem, the time, the last day of the Feast of Tabernacles, one of the three great religious festivals of the Jews. The piece is divided into two parts, the first entitled the Morning Sacrifice, the second, the Evening Sacrifice. Scriptural phraseology is happily introduced and versified, beautiful scenes are pictured, and the dramatic action is kept up with spirit. It has been suggested to us that it allowed too little scope for variety of expression in the music adapted to it, as its tone is joyous throughout. It is true that such was the character of the Jewish festival, but yet the poet might perhaps have inserted some touches of not inappropriate sadness, to which the notes of the composer would have responded in those melting strains which at all times find their way into the human heart.

We extract the following beautiful hymn as a specimen of the poem. It commences with a Chorus of Priests and Watchmen in the Temple, who hail the opening day, on its dawn being announced by the watching priest.

“CHORUS OF PRIESTS AND WATCHMEN.

Welcome the dawning light !
Welcome the joyous Day !
Let Jacob's Tribes again unite
To celebrate their ancient rite,
And grateful homage pay.
Wave the willow and the palm !
Bow the knee and chant the psalm !
'Throng the holy altar round !
Bid the lofty courts resound !

PRIEST.

When, from Egyptian bondage driven,
Our fathers sought their promised home,
For many a year offended Heaven
Condemned them in the wild to roam.
No house received their weary forms,
No city knew their way-worn feet ;
In tents they braved the winter's storms,
In tents endured the summer's heat.
And now, in Judah's prosperous days,
Oft as the Harvest month comes round,
Our humble tents and booths we raise,
And houseless, like our sires, are found.
We bring to mind their sins and woes ;
Their path o'er Jordan's wave we trace,
Till on these fruitful hills arose
Their heritage and resting place.

CHORUS.

Praise for that fruitful heritage !
 Praise for that glorious resting-place !
 The home and pride, through every age,
 Of Zion's God and Israel's race."

pp. 6, 7.

1. *M. T. Cicero de Senectute et de Amicitia, ex editionibus Oliveti et Ernesti. Accedunt Notæ Anglicæ Juventuti accommodatæ.* Cura C. K. DILLAWAY, A. M. Bostoniæ. Perkins et Marvin. 1837. 16mo. pp. 158. — 2. *M. T. Ciceronis de Officiis Libri Tres, ex editionibus Oliveti et Ernesti. Accedunt Notæ Anglicæ.* Cura C. K. DILLAWAY, A. M. Bostoniæ. Perkins et Marvin. 1837. 16mo. pp. 297. — These volumes may be numbered among the finest specimens which have come under our notice of what school editions of the classics ought to be. The generally received text of Olivet and Ernesti has been adopted in both cases, no alteration being made, except in conforming the orthography to that of the grammars and dictionaries in common use, and distinguishing by accents certain equivocal words. The notes, which make about a third of each volume, are drawn up with much care, judgment, and taste, their design being to explain allusions, resolve unusual and blind constructions, and point out nice shades of meaning, without interfering, however, with the province of the lexicographer, or involving the student in philological questions for which he is not prepared, or drawing away his attention to irrelevant topics. The appearance of the page is also fair and inviting, and the mechanical execution in all respects satisfactory, and yet the whole is afforded at a price considerably less than was paid, not many years ago, for the coarse and dingy class books then used in our academies and colleges. The two volumes before us, we observe, are printed and bound so as to match, and we understand that it is Mr. Dillaway's purpose to add to the series, a purpose which we hope he will find opportunity and encouragement to realize.

1. *The True Faith Vindicated, or Strictures on "The True Believer's Defence," a work written by the Rev. Charles Morgridge, of New Bedford, against the Divinity and Deity of Christ, and Doctrine of the Trinity.* By PHINEAS CRANDALL, Pastor to the Second Methodist Episcopal Church in New Bedford. New Bedford: Sidney Underwood. 1837. 12mo. pp. 70. — 2. *Appendix to the "True Believer's Defence;" or*

a Reply to "The True Faith Vindicated," a work purporting to have been written by Phineas Crandall, Pastor of the Second Methodist Episcopal Church in New Bedford. By the AUTHOR OF THE DEFENCE. New Bedford: William Howe. 1837. 12mo. pp. 60. — "The True Believer's Defence" was favorably noticed in the last number but one of this Journal. We are glad to learn from Mr. Crandall's answer, that this controversy is slowly finding its way among the Methodists, a denomination of Christians for whose practical and devotional character, as a body, we entertain the highest respect. Their attention has not been much directed as yet to the questions discussed in these pamphlets; but whenever it shall be, there is reason to believe that they will bring to the inquiry fewer prepossessions against the truth, and a stronger desire to be wholly determined by the simple teachings of the word of God, than is usual with the other modern orthodox sects. In that event they will be so much the more likely to embrace some form of Unitarianism, as the result of the investigation. Mr. Crandall, it is true, begins, as was to be expected, by coming out in defence of opinions in which, we suppose, he was educated, and has never probably allowed himself once to doubt; but if this is the best defence he can make of these opinions, we should think that he is in a fair way of speedily giving them up. The reply by Mr. Morgridge, who, it will be recollected, belongs to the Christian connexion, is in all the main points, as we presumed it would be, entirely satisfactory. As a specimen of his controversial powers we give the following.

"Mr. C. repeatedly accuses me of being a Socinian. He says, p. 68, 'Mr. M. should be reminded that the ingrafting of a few evangelical cions upon the old Socinian tree is with him, and the other followers of Elias Smith, a mere experiment.' To this I answer, I am not a Socinian. The word 'Socinian' is not in my Defence. It does not advocate Socinian sentiments. But sentences totally incompatible with Socinianism are to be found in great abundance; one of which Mr. C. has quoted, in which I expressed my belief in the preëxistence of Christ. Before he attempted to write a book upon polemic theology he *ought* to have known that Socinians do not believe in the preëxistence of Christ. It is not likely that he believes me to be a Socinian. He certainly cannot believe it without evidence, either real or imaginary. But if he had evidence of any sort would he not have submitted it? A man that thinks he can prove an allegation is very likely to try. The fact that he has quoted nothing from my Defence, nor from any other work, nor offered any evidence whatever, to show that I am a Socinian, is, I think, nearly equivalent to an acknowledgment that he did not believe it himself. His associating my name with that of Elias Smith is circumstantial evidence, at least, that he would not have called me a Socinian, had it not been, in his

opinion, a name of reproach. I am not a follower of Elias Smith, and never was. I never read one of his books. I never heard him preach but once in my life. I never was sufficiently acquainted with him or his writings to know whether he was a Socinian or not. I am no more responsible for the faith of Elias Smith, than Mr. C. is for the morality of Ephraim K. Avery. It is not pleasant to encounter an antagonist, who, for want of argument, will offer abuse." — pp. 9, 10.

Again, in the conclusion, he says :

"It does not appear from his [Mr. Crandall's] book, that he believes God ever sent his SON to die for us ; or that the SON ever came to die for us ; or that he ever did die for us. If I were to write a book in vindication of 'the TRUE faith,' and should deny the sufferings and death of the SON of God, by maintaining that this was true only of a mere man to whom the SON was united, I should be astounded beyond measure, if an intelligent but *injured* community should not, with one consent, condemn, and reject it as a denial of the SON of GOD. Though Mr. C. has nowhere mentioned the 'Son of God' in his vindication of 'the TRUE faith,' except in a few quotations from my book which he condemns, yet he has had much to say about 'God the SON,' a personage not once named in the Bible ! If there is any doctrine taught in the Bible, with perfect clearness, it is, that the SON of GOD suffered and died on the cross. If there is any thing taught with perfect clearness, in Mr. C.'s book, it is that the SON could no more suffer and die than the FATHER. The Bible promises eternal life to all who believe on the SON of GOD ; and maintains that he, who does not believe Christ to be the SON of GOD, shall not see life ; but the wrath of God abideth on him. That Mr. C. has promised life to those of a different faith from that which Christ and his Apostles required, as the only saving faith, is as certain as it is that he has 'become an author.' On the other hand, he has maintained with equal clearness, that the faith of those who believe Christ to be the SON of GOD, and that he suffered and died on the cross, is equivalent to a denial of every thing 'that is at all essential to the Christian faith.'

"Mr. C. says, p. 69, 'The peculiar connexion of the bleeding, suffering, innocent victim with the divine nature, appears to be the circumstance which distinguishes and elevates it above all other sacrifices, and of course is what gives to it its atoning efficacy.' But why is there no 'atoning efficacy' in the sacrifice of the SON of GOD ? I believe that there was as 'peculiar connexion' between him and his Father, as Mr. C. thinks existed between him and the mere man to whom he was united. If the blood of the mere man derives its 'atoning efficacy' from its union with the SON, who is but the second person in the Trinity, I see not why the blood of the SON may not derive efficacy from his union with the Father, who is the first person in the universe. The 'suffering innocent victim,' according to my doctrine, is as much greater than he is according to Mr. C.'s doctrine, as the SON of

GOD is greater than a mere man. His union, too, is with the FIRST and GREATEST person in the UNIVERSE, of whom the SON said, *He is greater than I, He is greater than all*; whereas Mr. C. unites him only with the *second* in the *Trinity*. My doctrine exhibits a victim, a sacrifice, of far more illustrious pedigree; and unites him with a personage of unequalled glory and majesty."—pp. 58, 59.

We shall not be understood, of course, as concurring in all the positions taken by Mr. Morgridge. There, are moreover, in the pamphlet before us, a few incidental inaccuracies into which he has fallen; such as classing Sir Isaac Newton with "professedly Trinitarian authors," and referring to Gesenius and De Wette as "the highest Trinitarian authorities in the world." Still it is another spirited, manly, and able defence of Unitarianism from his pen, and so far as Mr. Crandall's attack is concerned, a most triumphant vindication; so that we feel under great obligations to Mr. Morgridge for having produced it, and to Mr. Crandall for having provoked it.

Athens: Its Rise and Fall, with Views of the Literature, Philosophy, and Social Life of the Athenian People. By EDWARD LYTTON BULWER, M. P., M. A. I. and II. Vols. 12mo.—Reading the first half hour in this last work of Mr. Bulwer's prolific pen, one is tempted to throw the book aside in despair of perusing it, so bad, so involved, and apparently artificial is the style. But at the end of two hours, the difficulty vanishes, and the pages become so fascinating, that the reader quits them with regret; and at the end of the second volume, he longs for the appearing of the other two, which are to complete the work.

It may be that the author's style improves as he enters the more into his subject, but it is probable, that most of the change is in the reader's mind, who, becoming used to the style, finds it not difficult or disagreeable, as the rider sometimes finds the horse very easy in pace after a few miles' ride, whose gait seemed at first intolerably hard.

Mr. Bulwer assiduously vindicates the Greeks, and especially the Athenians, from the common attempts to detract from the originality and worth of their literature, institutions, and character. He denies that the Oriental Influence was so great in Greece as it is commonly represented. He maintains that the national religion was a legitimate offspring of the Hellenic soil, and although somewhat modified, was not essentially changed by Egyptian or Oriental influences. So likewise of other institutions, beside the religion of the country.

Mr. Bulwer makes himself especially the champion of Athens,

and the Ionic race and free governments, against Sparta, and the Dorian race and oligarchies. He represents Sparta as an unnatural state, deformed by artificial restraints, and meeting the vengeance of injured nature by her very attempts to defeat the sway of nature's laws;—a state glorying in her freedom, and yet the home of the most abject slavery,—enjoining the most unnatural self-denial in her citizens, and yet those citizens, in regard to other Greeks, the most selfish of the Hellenes—her rulers debarred by law from wealth, and yet the most accessible to bribery of all Greeks. He so vindicates Athens, as even to defend the ostracism, as being necessary in a government whose greatest danger consisted in the excessive power and usurpations of distinguished men. He maintains, that the right of ostracism, instead of being used capriciously, was employed with signal justice and forbearance, and that even the exile of Aristides was demanded by the public weal, on account of his great influence in the nation and his notorious attachment to oligarchical institutions. How much Mr. Bulwer's views of Athens may be tinged by the radicalism of his English politics cannot fairly be ascertained. He denies being tinctured in his history by any party prejudices.

This work bears witness of much research and of very exact scholarship in the writer. One, to be sure, is very easily deceived by a parade of learning, and the reader may too readily trust in the wondrous erudition of the book, from the display of learning made in the notes. But if the writer has made too much display, or pretended to more learning than he possesses, he will undoubtedly suffer for it. He has spoken so decidedly on many points, and dealt so freely with the good name of such historians, as Mitford, and even the German Müller, that vengeance will come upon him for all the faults of his history. The London Quarterly will probably come down in all its wrath upon the historic champion of Attic Democracy.

The author trusts, in his Preface, that his work will give the best extant account of the letters, institutions, and life of the Greeks. When we have read the two forth-coming volumes, we can tell better, how far this trust is warranted.

A letter to the Rt. Hon. and Hon. the Members of both Houses of Parliament, regarding the Doctrines of the Established Church. By the AUTHOR OF THE APOLOGY OF AN OFFICER, FOR WITHDRAWING FROM THE PROFESSION OF ARMS. Printed for the Author, for voluntary distribution. 1836.—This Letter was written by Thomas Thrush, Esq. of Harrogate, England, formerly a captain in the British navy, but induced

many years ago to lay down his commission from conscientious scruples in regard to the consistency of the profession of arms with a Christian life. It is an earnest appeal to Parliament so far to reform the Articles and Liturgy of the Established Church as to exclude every vestige of the doctrine of the Trinity, the same being, as he undertakes briefly to demonstrate, a radical and most injurious corruption of the truth as it is in Jesus. Whether in point of fact he is likely to obtain a respectful audience in the quarter to which he looks, may well be doubted; but most of our readers will be convinced by the following paragraph, that he is entitled to such audience, whether he obtains it, or not.

“Permit me, my Lords and Gentlemen, in taking my leave of you, solemnly to assure you, that, in thus addressing you, I have no party, no sectarian views to promote. I am far advanced in life; and to court the approbation, or fear the censure, of the world, on such a subject, would be equally unwise. I must, probably, be shortly called to account for my conduct before a greatly superior tribunal. The life-giving truths that the FATHER is the ONLY TRUE GOD, and that Jesus Christ is *sent* by him, I have thought it a sacred duty to advocate. If, in doing this, from feeling warmly the high importance of my subject, any expression may have escaped me irreconcilable with the respect and duty I owe you, I humbly intreat your forgiveness. Should I be deemed guilty of presumption in addressing you at all, the importance of the subject must be my apology. At present, skepticism, fanaticism, and lukewarmness materially neutralize the effects that Christianity is destined to produce. These, in part at least, arise from those mysterious, not to say incredible doctrines, which are by many deemed the *peculiar doctrines* of Christianity. Alluding to such doctrines, Dr. Paley remarks; ‘That whatever renders religion more rational, renders it more credible; that he who, by a diligent and faithful examination of the original records, dismisses from the system one article which contradicts the apprehension, the experience, or the reasoning of mankind, does more towards recommending the belief, and with the belief, the influence, of Christianity, to the understandings and consciences of serious inquirers, and through them to universal reception and authority, than can be effected by a thousand contenders for creeds and ordinances of human establishment.’” — p. 10.

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